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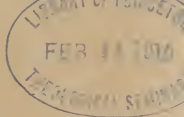
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THE
QUESTION OF THE
IRISH CHURCH

CALMLY CONSIDERED :

A BOOK OF FACTS,
TESTIMONIES AND ARGUMENTS,

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM H. ✓ DYER.




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P R E F A C E .

 *HERE are many intelligent men who place truth and righteousness above all party considerations, and who think that the Dis-establishment of the Irish Church would be a most disastrous step. To such men, especially, this book appeals. The writer asks of them a candid consideration of the evidence here adduced upon the chief points of the controversy. He has been careful to give ample authorities for his statements; and, wherever possible, to allow the words of men, whose position or sentiments might give weight to their expressions, to appear rather than his own. He has stated nothing as a fact which, after enquiry, he does not honestly think will be found to be so—he has used no figures which cannot, as he believes, be verified—nor any argument that he does not think to be sound. And he is not without hope that the consideration of what he has advanced may convince many that the Dis-establishment of the Irish Church would do more for the welfare of Ireland and for the progress of Protestantism than any other measure that could be adopted.*

October, 1868.

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ERRATA.

Page 64, last line but one, for "Irish Church," read—"State of the Irish Church."

Page 109, 10th line, for "parliamentary," read—"preliminary" objection.

Page 109, last line but three, for "Governors-Generals,"—read "Governors-General."

THE QUESTION OF THE
IRISH CHURCH
CALMLY CONSIDERED.

A BOOK OF FACTS, TESTIMONIES, AND ARGUMENTS.

THE proposal by the acknowledged chief of a great party in the State to dis-establish the Episcopal Church in Ireland, and the sanction given to that proposal by large majorities in the House of Commons, have occasioned deep anxiety to many thoughtful and upright men. And, surely we cannot be surprised at this. It is a shock both to their imaginations and their faith. To them the institution is venerable—not less for its utility than for its age; they look back for three centuries and see it like a lofty mountain rising in a barren land, covered with rich foliage and fruit, and sending forth fresh springs of water to make green and glad the surrounding wastes. In their view it is the standing and only efficient witness for scriptural truth, the most effective protest against errors, perilous to men's souls, and fatal to social and civic prosperity; it is the centre round which gather the intelligence, the education, and the scriptural religion of the country; if you destroy that you demolish the fortresses by which alone a few faithful soldiers of the truth can hold their place in the midst of many foes, you forsake these few valiant men, you drive from the country many of her best friends, and give it up to idolatrous errors and Papal usurpations. You unsettle the foundations of property; you violate solemn contracts; you call upon the Queen to break her coronation oath; you yield to clamours that can never be satisfied, and destroy what can never be restored; you introduce a system which has all the perils of an experiment upon a gigantic scale, but which, once introduced, will have all the stability of an irreversible deed. You might soon demolish West-

minster Abbey, but who could restore it—make it again what it is to-day?

*Facilis decensus averni
Sed revocare pedem—*

That is, you may easily slide over the precipice, but to get back—Would it not be far better, say the men who thus think, to examine the old building thoroughly—remedy defects, clear out dirty corners, repair and restore neglected and unused apartments, and put them to some good use; if necessary, take away a wing of the building rather than demolish it altogether—at all events give this a trial, if not satisfactory you will at least have time for consideration and preparation for so great a change; and if, after all the thing must be done, you will do it none the worse for having a deeper conviction of duty and a more just appreciation of all the facts of the case.

All this is very natural, and to some good men resistless. They look with wonder upon others whom they have been accustomed to account both sane and honest, and find it impossible to understand how they can concur in and actively promote measures which appear so detrimental to the interests which they profess most to love. That men of no fixed principles upon religious subjects, men whose highest impulses come from no better source than party politics, should be willing to surrender a venerable and sacred institution to destruction they can understand, but how Christian men of thoroughly Protestant principles can concur in this is to them unaccountable.

My aim in this book is to meet if I can, the thoughts and difficulties of such persons of intelligence and Christian integrity as are here represented, by trying to show how a man may really know something of the matter, may look calmly and fairly at both sides of the question, and consistently with strong religious and Protestant convictions, may earnestly desire that the Episcopal Church in Ireland may cease to be an Establishment of the State.

And here let me at once say that the proposal to dis-establish the Irish Church does not involve, in my judgment, the demolition of an ancient institution, but its restoration to the purity, vigour, and joy of the days of its youth. You do not by that measure remove the witness for scriptural truth, but you enable it to speak in clearer tones, and with the authority of a higher and more unquestioned purity. If John the Baptist had been compelled by Herod to assume a courtly dress and title he would have lost none of his moral power as a man sent from God by laying these aside. It is not taking away the bulwark against error, but widening its basis and strengthening its foundations in the hearts and judgments of men of all parties; it is not dismantling the fortress and for-

saking the faithful few in an enemy's country, but cutting off dilapidated outworks which, while making for their defence great demands upon the garrison, only afford advantage to the enemy ; it is not giving up the country to Papal errors and usurpations, but taking away the pleas, destroying the food, upon which they have hitherto flourished ; it is not yielding to clamour but doing justice and truth whatever winds may blow ; it is not rushing into the perils of an untried experiment, but returning to the ground upon which Christ first established His churches, and upon which the most successful efforts to promote His kingdom have been made both in ancient and modern times. It is not stepping over the precipice, but casting aside weights that easily beset us, and ascending to the hill-tops of truth that we may enjoy fresher breezes and wider views. It is not the destruction of the edifice but only doing for it what the taste and skill of modern times have done for some of our grand old cathedrals, by taking away the houses of marketing and merchandise which, though built against their walls, formed no part of the structure, and removing the plaster and the whitewash, the high pews, and the hideous galleries, which both diminished their utility and concealed their beauty. And, as relieved from incongruous accretions and tasteless patch-work, they stand out now the clear and beautiful embodiments of the architect's thought, so the Irish Church shall stand forth when the nation shall have the taste and courage to clear away from her the disfigurements which many have regarded as buttresses of its strength or conditions of its usefulness.

An endeavour will be made to establish the following propositions :—

- I.—That excepting benefactions made by private persons to the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland the ecclesiastical property of the country is the property of the public, and that the Legislature has full right to employ it as may be deemed best for the national welfare.
- II.—That if the dis-establishment of the Irish Church would be for the welfare of Ireland, there is nothing in the Coronation Oath or in the compact of the union of 1800 that can fairly stand in the way.
- III.—That the establishment of the Church in Ireland has been injurious to her spiritual life, an obstacle to her success, and, therefore, detrimental to religion.
- IV.—That there is great reason to fear that the continuance of the Establishment would be detrimental to the Protestant religion.
- V.—That for 700 years, when there was no Established Church, Evangelical religion flourished in Ireland more than it has done at any subsequent period.
- VI.—That the history of other churches justifies the expectation that dis-established Protestantism would be aggressive and flourishing.
- VII.—That practically our choice appears to lie between two or three Establishments and none.
- VIII.—That national religion is essential to national prosperity, but not dependent upon national Establishments.

CHAPTER I.

I.—That excepting benefactions made by private persons to the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland the ecclesiastical property of the country is the property of the public, and that the Legislature has full right to employ it as may be deemed best for the national welfare.

The first obstacle to dis-establishment is presented in the alleged nature and tenure of ecclesiastical property. It is said by many writers and speakers that the Church is the only rightful and absolute owner of the property for ever—that it stands upon the same ground as the private estate of a private person—that if by legislative enactments you disturb it or appropriate its use to other persons than those who now enjoy it, or to other purposes than those for which it is now employed, you are guilty of robbery and spoliation, and unsettle the foundations of all property. One says, “it will sap the very rights of property;” another that “the tithe-rent charge is unquestionably the most ancient and indefeasible species of property in these realms.”

Lord Derby said in the House of Lords, June 25th—“For his own part he must tender his solemn protest against the doctrine that they were entitled to deal with the property of the Church of Ireland any more than if it was personal property. When the Church was reformed the property was TRANSFERRED not confiscated, with one exception, that of the monasteries, the plunder of which formed the darkest page in an otherwise bright page of our history. No doubt the monasteries at that time required reform, but that was no justification for an act for which there was no parallel in the history of plunder and confiscation—namely, the distribution of the monastic lands among the rapacious nobles of the time. It was impossible to look back without acknowledging the infamy of the transaction; but still no one now attempted to doubt the validity of the title by which they were held by their present possessors. Long prescription was held to give in these cases an inviolable title, and why not apply to the property of the Church the principle they had applied to the case of the plunder of the monasteries?”*

Now, in opposition to these and similar statements, I think it will be found upon a fair examination of evidence, that the following proposition is substantially correct:—“*That, excepting benefactions made by private persons to the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland the ecclesiastical property of the country is the property of the public; and that the Legislature has full right to employ it as may*

* *Daily News*, June 26th, 1868.

be deemed best for the nation's welfare. If this be true, then the question of the rights of property offers no obstacle to the settlement of this grave matter. In confirmation, let the candid reader consider the following points.

1. Does not the origin of tithes, so far as legal right to them is concerned, favour the idea that Church property is the property of the nation? Look at the following authorities. Burn, the standing authority upon ecclesiastical law, gives the following account of the origin of tithes :—"What was paid to the Church for several of the first ages after Christ, was all brought to them by way of offerings; and these were made either at the altar or at the collections, or else occasionally. Afterwards, about the year 794, Offa, king of Mercia (the most potent of all the Saxon kings of his time in this island), made a law whereby he gave unto the Church the tithes of all his kingdom which the historians tell us was done to expiate for the death of Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, whom, in the year preceding, he had caused to be basely murdered. But that tithes were before paid in England by way of offerings, according to the ancient usage and decrees of the Church appears from the canons of Egbert, Archbishop of York, about the year 750; and from an epistle of Boniface, Archbishop of Mercia, which he wrote to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the same time; and from the seventeenth Canon of the General Council held for the whole kingdom at Chalcuth, in the year 797. But this *law of Offa was that which first gave the Church a civil right in them* in this land by way of property and inheritance, and enabled the clergy to gather and recover them as their legal due by the coercion of the civil power. Yet this establishment of Offa reached no further than to the kingdom of Mercia, over which Offa reigned, until Ethelwulph, about sixty years afterwards, enlarged it for the whole realm of England."*

"Whatever private gifts of tithes or lands have been made to the clergy of this country, their possession of tithes throughout England and Wales must be traced to law. * * * This right of the clergy to tithe which was created by law, has been since confirmed by the same authority. * * * Further, the right of the clergy to a great proportion of the tithes paid in modern times, has been created by statute since the Reformation. Thus, the tithe, which is the chief maintenance of the pastors within the Establishment, has been given to them by the State, and a large part has been given since the Reformation."†

In Ireland also in the primitive, which were the more pure and prosperous times, churches and missions were supported by free-will offerings; these offerings consisting sometimes of land,

* Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, 9th edition, vol. iii., p. 679-8; Prideaux on Tithes.

† Noel.

sometimes of its produce, and sometimes of money, according to the ability and hearts of the people. This continued up to the time of Henry II. It had long been the aim of the Roman Pontiffs to bring under their power what they commonly denominated the heretical and disorderly Church of Ireland. Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, was appointed the first Papal legate in Ireland, and in that capacity presided at the Synod of Rathbrazil, in the year 1118, And at a National Synod held at Kells in 1152, and presided over by Cardinal Paparo, as legate from the Pope, the sees of Dublin and Limerick were erected into Archbishoprics, and their occupants, together with the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, received the Pallium and took the oath which bound them and the Church to Rome.

Following the same policy, Pope Adrian IV. assumed to himself the right to dispose of the sovereignty of Ireland; and by bull issued in 1155 gave the kingdom to Henry II., of England. Finding a favourable opportunity for pushing his pretensions, that Prince landed in Ireland in October, 1171, and meeting scarcely any opposition, summoned at Cashel, in 1172, a council of principal men, lay and ecclesiastic, for settling the affairs of his new dominions; *and, in this assembly, tithes as a civil right, under the law of the land, had their origin.* Up to that period religion was supported by voluntary offerings; then the nation was supposed, by its representatives and rulers, to set apart a tenth of the produce of the soil for sacred purposes, and this tenth was demanded, and wherever possible, its payment enforced, by power of law. The abolition of that enactment and similar ones founded upon it, would be the abolition of tithes. The testimonies upon this subject are plentiful and indisputable. We quote one or two from writers in defence of the Irish Church. The Rev. Arthur W. Edwards, M.A., Rector of Tanlaught Finnigan, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Derry, in an historical sketch of the Church of Ireland, writes—"Tithes, though scriptural in their origin, and common in the Christian Church from the earliest ages were scarcely known in Ireland till the twelfth century, previous to that time the clergy were supported by voluntary offerings, and by grants of land. At the Synod of Cashel, however, a decree was enacted, and subsequently confirmed by Henry II., that the faithful should henceforth pay to their parish church the tithe of animals, fruits, and other increase."—The Rev. William Anderson, M.A., Rector of Raymunter, Diocese of Raphoe, writing upon the difficulties of the Irish Church, says—"It was one of the first acts of the English Crown to provide for the maintenance of the parochial system by *giving to the clergy the tithes of their respective parishes*; whatever

good may have flowed from this payment in supporting the Irish clergy, the imposition of a new tax by the foreign conqueror for their benefit, made them unpopular. Tithes were hated as oppressive and anti-Irish. They were regarded as a badge of conquest."

The Rev. Alfred S. Lee, M.A., LL.D., Rector of Ahogill, Diocese of Connor and Rural Dean, says—"Christianity has been planted in Ireland for more than fourteen centuries. During the latter half of this period an Established Church has existed in that country under the protection of the Crown of England. In the reign of Henry II. this Church, upon Submitting to the supremacy of the Pope was confirmed in its original possessions, *and endowed with tithes by that monarch.*"*

To the same effect is the testimony of Leland and other historians. Thus it is evident that the claim of the clergy to tithes is founded upon public enactments by which the nation has determined to set apart one tenth of the produce of the land for religious purposes. It has been asserted that since the Reformation 111,000 acres have been added to the glebe lands in Ireland; if so, and I am not questioning the statement, that has been done not by way of formal gift, but by the will of the nation, thus setting apart an additional portion of its property.

2. Neither the Church as a body, nor individual members of the Church, hold church property otherwise than as public servants or as trustees for the public.

The Church as a body does not hold one shilling; if it be a body corporate it is not a corporation in the legal sense of the term, for it cannot, like the Royal Society, or a city corporation, hold property.

There are in the Church certain corporate bodies that do hold property.

"The dean and chapter of a cathedral is a body corporate, consisting of many able persons in law—namely, the dean, who is chief, and his prebendaries; and they together make the corporation. They were originally selected by the bishop from amongst his clergy as council and assistants to him, but they derive their corporate capacity from the Crown." "Their duties are first to advise the bishop in spiritualities; and, second to restrain him in temporalities."†—But they hold the property, not as their own, but as trustees for the public, and out of it receive compensation as is supposed, for services rendered, or expenses incurred, just as a town clerk or the mayor of a city.

The bishop is what is termed in law a corporation sole—that is, one individual person, regarded by a legal fiction, for the sake

* Essays, pp. 131, 159, 219.

† Burn II., 93, 95.

of convenience as a corporate body—and in him, for the time being, vests so much of the temporalities of the bishopric as consists of houses and land. Clearly the bishop is a public servant, holding for the time being, property as the trustee of the public.

“The temporalities of the bishops have been no less the State’s gift. A bishop’s temporalities are all such things as bishops have by livery from the King, as castles, manors, lands, &c.* Of this there is a double proof; first, the bishop is obliged to do homage for them to the Crown; and, secondly, during the vacancy of each see, the temporalities go to the Crown as the existing possessor. When a bishop is invested and consecrated, the bishop being introduced to the king’s presence, shall do his homage for his temporalities or barony;† and upon the falling of a void bishopric, not the new bishop, but the King by his prerogative, hath the temporalities thereof, from the time that the same became void, to the time that the new bishop shall receive them from the king.”‡

The parson of the parish is also a corporation sole, and in him vests the parsonage, glebe, and burial ground, but evidently as servant and trustee of the public; for the property is as much the property of the parish and as much set apart for its advantage, as the property which vests in the mayor and corporation of a borough belongs to and is for the advantage of the citizens at large. Hence the rights of the parishioners, and the control which in various ways they can exercise over the property.

Speaking upon this subject in the House of Lords, June 29, 1868, Lord Cairns said :—

“No doubt a laywer would tell you that you have no Church corporation, but a number of individual corporations in the persons of the bishops, incumbents, and rectors of parishes. But for whom do they hold the property they possess? Is it their own for their own enjoyment and benefit? Can they do what they please with it? Certainly not. Those individual corporations hold the property as trustees for the whole Church—laity and clergy—and in that larger and wider view the Church (or nation) and not the individual corporations is entitled to the benefit of the property. I admit that very great distinction is to be drawn between ecclesiastical and private property. What is the distinction? It is that the owner of private property has a right to do what he likes with it without any enquiry on the part of others, while in the case of ecclesiastical property, which is held in trust, the State has a duty to perform.”

Remembering that the root idea of a national church is a church which comprehends the whole nation, so that church and nation are coincident—this is an exact statement of the case; but as that idea is not realized in existing fact, we must understand the term church, in the middle of the extract, to signify—nation.

In accordance with the nature of the property are the conditions upon which it is enjoyed. None but those holding certain opinions *upon which the legislature has determined* and pledging themselves to perform certain services for the benefit of the public

* Burn, vol. i., p. 226.

† Ibid., p. 211.

‡ Ibid., p. 326.

can share in it. If a nobleman were to set apart certain lands, determining that the proceeds of these lands should pay his servants wages, he might lay down rules as to the persons he would employ, and the services they should be required to render, still, of course, retaining the ownership of the property and all rights thereto belonging. In like manner, the nation, retaining all the rights of ownership, has set apart certain property to pay for certain services, and has determined that the persons who render these services shall hold certain opinions, be free from certain physical defects, pass certain examinations, sign certain documents, and solemnly make certain declarations. And, if after years of service, they can be proved to hold opinions which the law regards as heretical, or to have acted in a manner imprudent or immoral, they can be suspended or expelled from office as persons unfit to render the services for which they receive public compensation; and the property they enjoyed, will vest in their successors.

Moreover, by far the greater number of appointments to the offices supported by this property are made by State officials on behalf of the public. The Prime Minister appoints the bishops in England, and either the Lord-Lieutenant or the Chief Secretary appoints the bishops in Ireland. Public officers or corporate bodies hold the patronage of by far the greater part of the benefices in England; and this is most probably the case in Ireland. Over those livings in the hands of corporate bodies or private persons, the public still asserts its power, for if, in case of vacancy, they be not filled up in six months, the appointment lapses either to the bishop or to the Crown.* Is it not plain that public officers are invested with these powers, that they may see that the nation's property is employed for the nation's welfare?

In further confirmation, it should be observed that the Queen, as the representative of the nation, is held to be the owner of the temporalities of the Church. Not only is this recognized by the bishops doing homage on appointment to office, but in the fact that Parliament does not proceed to legislate in any manner affecting the property of the Church without first asking the Sovereign's permission. Prior to the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's Suspensory Bill a message was sent to Her Majesty "praying her to place at the disposal of Parliament her interest in the temporalities of the archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices of the Church of Ireland, and in the custody thereof."

Just as the public roads are the Queen's highways, as the public peace is the Queen's peace, as the public courts are the

* Burn, vol. ii., p. 355, et seq.

Queen's courts, and the public servants the Queen's servants, so the public property is the property of the Queen.

3. *Only upon the ground that Church property is public property, and that the Legislature may rightfully determine the conditions upon which it may be held, can the Protestant Church justify its tenure for the last 300 years.*

It is an indisputable fact that for more than 300 years the ecclesiastical property of Ireland was held by a Church professing the doctrines and submitting to the rule of the Church of Rome. Concerning that Church as compared with the present Established Church of Ireland, Dean Murray says—"Every conscientious and consistent Churchman must protest against Romanism as idolatrous and superstitious; and every honest and sincere Romanist must denounce the Church of England as heretical and schismatical."*

Now, the Protestant Episcopal Church was established in Ireland by statute, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and it has, from that time to this, held the ecclesiastical property of Ireland, on the ground of Act of Parliament. Nay, one may go further, and affirm that by Act of Parliament that property was transferred from one class of religionists to another, three times in the short space of twenty-five years.

The first transfer took place in the reign of Henry VIII. The King, elated by the general and prompt compliance with his scheme of reformation in England, resolved to extend it yet further, and to gain a reception for the new doctrines in Ireland. George Brown, who was a strong advocate for the Protestant doctrine, was advanced to the see of Dublin; and with other commissioners was appointed to confer with the clergy and nobility, and procure a general acknowledgment of the King's supremacy. Cromer, primate of Armagh, and many others, offered stout opposition. The King's commissioners, to their utter mortification, were treated with neglect and ridicule. The Archbishop of Dublin informed Lord Cromwell of this; and "recommended as the most vigorous and effectual method of procedure that an *Irish Parliament should be assembled without delay which, like the English legislature, might by law enforce a general acknowledgment of the King's supremacy, so as to terrify the refractory and silence their opposition.*" This was approved; Lord Leonard Gray received a commission to summon a parliament which met in Dublin, May 1st, 1536. "The transactions of a late parliament at Westminster sufficiently informed the Irish subjects what acts would be most acceptable to the King; and were made

* Ireland and her Church, p. 241.

the models of their present ordinances." The Protestant historian, Leland, in his "History of Ireland," from which the quotations just made are taken, states that by statutes passed in this Parliament, the King was declared supreme head on earth of the Church of Ireland; appeals to Rome in spiritual causes were taken away; the English law against slandering the King in consequence of these innovations was enacted and confirmed in Ireland; together with the provisions made in England for the payment of first fruits to the King; but not only of the first fruits of bishoprics and other secular promotions in the Church of Ireland; by another act he was vested with those of abbeys, priories, colleges, and hospitals. *By another, the authority of the Bishop of Rome was more solemnly renounced, and the maintainers of it in Ireland made subject to premunire; all Officers of every kind and degree were directed to take the Oath of Supremacy; and every person who should refuse it, declared, as in England, to be guilty of high treason.*"*

But what is the nature of this oath of supremacy which *all officers of every kind and degree* were compelled to take under pain of high treason? The answer is found in the statutes. By 26 Henry VIII., cap. 1—"The King, his heirs, &c., shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head, on earth, of the Church of England . . . and shall have power, from time to time, to visit, repress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, enormities . . . which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction may be lawfully reformed."†

By 37 Henry VIII., cap. 17—"Your majesty is, and hath always justly been, the supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and hath full power and authority to correct, punish, and repress all manner of heresies, errors, vices, sins, abuses, idolatries, hypocrisies and superstitions sprung and growing within the same; and to exercise all other manner of jurisdiction, commonly called ecclesiastical jurisdiction; . . . *Archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical but by and from your royal majesty.*"‡

This you must swear, or surrender any office you may hold, and be guilty of high treason; that is, you must in the most positive terms swear that you are not a Roman Catholic, and equally that you are not a Presbyterian or Independent, or be prepared to sacrifice everything, even life itself. The statements of Leland are almost repeated by another learned Protestant historian: John Brown, of Haddington, professor of divinity under the asso-

* Irish Stat. 28 Henry VIII., Leland, Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii., pp. 163-4.

† Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, 9th edition, vol. iii., p. 657.

‡ Burn, vol. ii., p. 43.

ciate synod, in his "History of the British Churches," says of Ireland at this period—"The parliament meeting in A.D. 1535 confirmed his majesty's ecclesiastical as well as civil supremacy; and asserted his power to reform heresies, errors, and other ecclesiastical corruptions; and enacted that none should appeal to Rome under pain of premunire; that the Pope had no authority in Ireland; and whoever dared to assert or defend his usurped jurisdiction should incur a premunire; *that all persons in civil or ecclesiastical offices should swear the oath of supremacy appointed, or be liable to the pains of treason.*"*

Now perhaps it will be said—True; it must be admitted that in this case Protestantism was established, and the offices and emoluments of the Irish Church most effectually taken from Roman Catholics, and made tenable only by a certain class of Protestants; and all this by Act of Parliament; but then the nobles, the priests, and the people, generally concurred in the change and conformed. Well, if that were so, the fact would remain the same, that Protestantism was established by Act of Parliament, and that, in virtue of that Act, Protestants only could hold office and emolument.

But the state of things was not thus; it was precisely the contrary of this. The general feeling of all classes was against the change. "Except Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, few of the dignified clergy heartily complied. The Primate of Armagh not only hindered most of his suffragans and inferior clergy from submission, but laid a curse on all the people that should own Henry's supremacy . . . And indeed such was the brutish ignorance of both clergy and laity, and their zealous attachment to the idolatries and superstitions of Rome that they needed no instigation."†

In the time of Edward VI. we find painful instances of legislative action forcing religious creeds and observances upon a reluctant people. "As the Protector Somerset had successfully proceeded in the English Reformation, and was resolved that the liturgy of the Church of England, *lately established by the Legislature* with the other ordinances relating to religion, should be introduced into Ireland, the abilities and experience of Sir Anthony Saintleger were deemed necessary for the service. He was appointed Lord Deputy, and sent to Ireland with a commission to convene a Parliament in that kingdom."‡

What had been done in England which it was proposed to repeat in Ireland, may be stated in a few words. The book of Common Prayer of Edward VI. was never laid before Convoca-

* Brown's Hist., vol. i., p. 363. † Brown, p. 363. ‡ Leland, p. 192.

tion, but by Act of Parliament, passed January, 1549, it was appointed to be used through the whole kingdom *under pain of six month's imprisonment and loss of a year's salary for the first fault; forfeiture of all preferments and a year's imprisonment for the second; forfeiture of all goods and imprisonment for life for the third.**

Touching the king's supremacy, it was enacted by Edward VI., cap. 12—"If any person shall by open preaching, express words, or sayings, affirm that the king is not, or ought not to be, the supreme lord on earth of the Church of England, immediately under God, he, his aiders, comforters, abettors and counsellors shall *for the first offence forfeit his goods and be imprisoned during the King's pleasure; for the second offence shall forfeit his goods and the profits of his land and spiritual promotions during his life, and also be imprisoned during his life; and for the third offence shall be guilty of high treason.*"†

Such were the laws of England which the Lord Deputy sought to get enacted in Ireland. He called together the prelates and clergy, and submitted to them the new liturgy. But John Dowdal, Archbishop of Armagh, stood forth, at the head of his clergy, a bold and determined opposer of the King's proclamation, and treated the new liturgy with the utmost scorn. He then left the assembly followed by almost all his suffragans. Brown of Dublin, Stapels of Meath, Lancaster of Kildare, Travers of Lughlin, and Coin of Limerick, accepted the liturgy, which was soon after read in the cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, in the presence of the Deputy, magistrates, and clergy. The true picture of Ireland at this time is one in which legislative power is seen forcing an unwelcome religion upon the nation, and thereby producing only feelings of disgust, bitterness, and hate.

The death of Edward at once confounded all the weak efforts that had been made to introduce the Reformation into Ireland. Mary came to the throne and found much less difficulty than she expected, in restoring the ancient religion among a people who, as the Protestant historian says—"had scarcely known any other." The really Protestant Bishops fled; the really Papal Bishops who had fled before, returned. The Irish Parliament assembled 1st of June, 1556. The Chancellor entered, bearing a bull from the Pope; the whole assembly fell upon their knees; the Chancellor also reverently kneeling, read the bull, which recited the fatal separation of Ireland from the see of Rome—the effect of fear rather than of free-will—and the readiness with which the whole island had returned to its obedience to the sovereign

* Brown, p. 122.

† Burn, vol. iii., p. 658.

Pontiff on the accession of Mary, "that immaculate princess;" it pronounced absolution, and enjoined Parliament to abrogate all laws enacted against the supremacy of Rome. After the reading of the bull, Parliament adjourned to the Cathedral, where a *Te Deum* was solemnly chanted for the change that had taken place. The Parliament on meeting for business, ratified and established the provisions of the Pope's bull, revived all statutes made in Ireland for the suppression of heresy, and also repealed all Acts made against the Holy See since the 20th year of Henry VIII.

Here is another transfer of the ecclesiastical property of Ireland by Act of Parliament; this time it is from Protestants to Roman Catholics.*

In the year 1558 Queen Mary died, and her sister Elizabeth came to the throne. We come now to the measures of that great monarch, so far as they regard the establishment of religion in Ireland. Animated gentlemen in public meetings, and anonymous writers in public papers, assert that there is no statute upon the books, by which Protestantism was established, and by virtue of which, Protestants hold ecclesiastical property to-day. We have seen what was done in the times of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.; now let us see how much foundation there is for this assertion as regards the reign of Elizabeth. Listen to the statements of men whose principles and preferences were all on the Protestant side. Leland writes—"And now the Earl of Sussex returned to the government of Ireland with special instructions for *establishing the Reformed Worship*." How? By gentle and kindly influence? By preaching the truth? No. The historian continues—"For this purpose he was commissioned to assemble a Parliament for enacting statutes similar to those already made in England. The Queen's sentiments with regard to religion were already known; and Lords and Commons met on the 11th day of January, 1560, fully apprised of the purpose of the convention, but not universally well disposed towards the intended regulations." And what was done in this Parliament? The words of the historian are—"In despite of clamour and opposition *the whole ecclesiastical system of Queen Mary was entirely reversed by a series of statutes conformable to those already enacted by the English Legislature*. The ecclesiastical supremacy was restored to the crown, and a *new oath of supremacy appointed—laws against heresy repealed—the use of the Common Prayer enforced*, with such alterations as had been already made in England, and all subjects obliged to attend the public services of the Church." It was also enacted "*that such as maintain the Pope's or any foreign authority, for the first offence lose all his goods,*

* Irish statutes, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, chap. 1, 2.

*or be imprisoned for one year, if he had not £20 worth of goods, and also lose his benefice, if a clergyman; and should for the second offence incur a premunire; and for the third incur the pains of high treason."**

The kind of supremacy enforced, which some have spoken of as a very moderate demand, may be noticed. By 1 Eliz., c. 1, s. 17, "All such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority have heretofore been or may lawfully be exercised and used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons and for the reformation, order, and correction of sin, and of all manner of heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, shall for ever be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm."†

Here then it is plain that Roman Catholics were compelled to take an oath which belied their deepest convictions; to use services involving and expressing what they believed to be false and offensive to God; and to keep silence as to principles which they regarded as vital to their own and other men's welfare; or to surrender their offices, be spoiled of their goods and put outside the pale of the law, and finally, suffer the penalties which fall upon the greatest criminals known to human society. And yet anonymous writers can tell us that there is no statute upon the books in virtue of which Protestants hold the ecclesiastical property of Ireland! The public may, from this, judge of the worth of their statements upon other points.

And under what circumstances were these laws passed in the Irish Parliament? Was it by the general concurrence of the people? Were they really represented? Nothing of the sort. Dean Murray, in his book on "Ireland and the Irish Church," states that the first national parliament for all Ireland was summoned by James I., 1613. But not only was this parliament of Elizabeth not national; it was so defective as to be nothing better than a pretence—a burlesque of parliamentary representation and legislation. In the House of Commons, representatives were summoned for 10 counties only; from 10 other counties none were summoned, and none were present. The other representatives, making up the number to 76, were citizens and burgesses of those towns in which the royal authority was predominant. And yet "so much had Sussex been alarmed, by the opposition he had encountered in this parliament, that he dissolved it in a few weeks."

* Irish statutes, 2 Eliz., cc. 1, 2, 3; Leland, vol. ii., pp. 224-5; Brown, British Churches, vol. i., 364-6; Essays on the Irish Church, p. 95-7.

† Burn, vol. ii., p. 304.

Either the Legislature had a right to do what was done in the times of Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth, or it had not: if it had not, then what was done, was gigantic spoliation; if it had a right, then it has a right to-day to dispose of the Irish ecclesiastical revenues in such manner as it may deem most for the welfare of Ireland.

Now, let me beg the reader to look again at these statutes and then answer to his own heart this question—Is it not a plain fact that sincere Roman Catholics were *by these statutes deprived of all benefices and other offices in the Irish Church, together with all their emoluments!* Can any man say No? In the ancient heathen persecutions it was said to the Christians,—“Worship the gods or die;” it was said to the Roman Catholics, by these statutes, abjure your faith, swear to adopt and use in the worship of God, what you believe to be mortal heresy, or turn out of house and home, and become a beggar and a felon.

Before hand, Roman Catholics held all the ecclesiastical property of Ireland; from that day forward it has been tenable only by one class of Protestants, and to this day no honest Roman Catholic has ever legally held one benefice or received one shilling. It was as completely transferred by these statutes as the power of England was transferred by the battle of Hastings from the Saxons to their Norman conquerors, as effectually transferred as the regalities of England were, by the revolution of 1688, transferred from a Popish tyrant to a Protestant monarch. Whatever phraseology men may adopt, this was, as none can deny, the effect—the intended effect—of those statutes. And this is not at all affected by the fact, which Leland states, that, “Far the greater part of the prelates were such as quietly enjoyed their sees by conforming *occasionally* to different modes of religion.” They were easy kind of men who, under Henry, could swear to the Six Articles; under Edward, to a Puritan theology and Prayer Book; under Mary, to the supremacy of the Popes and the propriety of burning Protestants; and under Elizabeth, solemnly to repudiate and drive away all such detestable doctrines and doings. A thousand Acts of Parliament could not have more effectually transferred the property than did these statutes. After they were passed, a honest Roman Catholic could no more hold a benefice than could a Brahmin priest. What more could have been done to transfer the property, than was in effect done by these acts? Of course, I speak not of words, other words might have been used; but could the thing have been more thoroughly effected? If so, I ask how?

All this seems so plain as to render the production of testimony well nigh ridiculous, like adducing testimony that there is a

sun in the heavens. But as others may not feel thus I will here quote the words of one to whom many will listen with respect. The Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, when preparing to leave the Established Church, and stating the reasons which had led him to resolve on that course, wrote as follows :—

“All this church property having been thus bestowed by the state upon the bishops and clergy, the state has determined upon what terms it shall be held, and by the act of uniformity *TRANSFERRED the whole from the Roman Catholics to the Protestant clergy*. By that act, 1 Elizabeth, ‘Every parson, vicar, or other minister, was required to use the book of common prayer in the public services of the church, and no other rite, ceremony, order, or form. Every clergyman violating this law was, for the first offence, to forfeit a year’s stipend and be imprisoned six months; for the second offence, to be imprisoned a year and be deprived of all his spiritual promotions, and the patron might present to his living as if he were dead.’”

“This, of course, ejected the sincere catholics, placing protestant ministers in their room; and by this act the protestant pastors of England hold the state ecclesiastical property at this day, instead of the Roman Catholic priests who before possessed it. Up to the Reformation it was a gift of the State to the Roman Catholic Establishment. After the Reformation it was a gift of the State to the Protestant Establishment, which holds it to this day on the terms which the State has imposed.”*

Lord Howick said in the House of Commons in February, 1844, “The Roman Catholic Church was the ancient Church of Ireland. Some three centuries ago, or rather more, the large endowments which that Church possessed were by Acts of the Legislature *TRANSFERRED* from them and given to the Protestants, they being at the time a small minority of the population.”†

The words of Dr. Nicolas Slevin, professor of Canon law at Maynooth, are often quoted by those who assert the sacredness of church property. But upon what grounds does he place the tenure of the Irish Church in his examination before the Commissioners of Education, in 1826? “I consider,” he said, “that the present possessors of church property in Ireland, of whatever description they may be, have a just title to it on various grounds :—First, *on the ground of a lawful TRANSFER made by the government of the country*. * * * Secondly, by lawful prescription; and, thirdly, by the consent of those who might lay any claim to it.” Here the first ground of title is *lawful TRANSFER made by Act of Parliament*.‡

* Church and State, p. 159.

† Times, 16th February. 1844.

‡ Essays, p. 252.

In the House of Lords, on June 25th, 1868, Earl Granville said :—" Henry VIII. took away the Church revenues of Ireland from the Roman Catholics, who had possessed them for more than three centuries, and gave them to the Established Church ; Queen Mary gave them back to the Roman Catholics ; Queen Elizabeth gave them back to the Established Church ; Cromwell put them into the possession of the Puritans ; and his successor gave them back to the Church as it now existed."

On the same evening Lord Derby said :—" When the Church was reformed the property was TRANSFERRED not confiscated, with one exception, that of the monasteries, the plunder of which formed the darkest page, in an otherwise bright page of our history."

Evidently the tenure of the Protestant Church in Ireland rests upon the right of the Legislature to determine the conditions upon which Church property shall be held, the opinions that shall be maintained, and the services that shall be rendered by the persons holding it.

If there be no such right then in all the fore-mentioned cases the legislature was guilty of most flagrant wrong ; then moreover the Protestant Church has for more than 300 years enjoyed the tithes of Ireland, as well as much other property, without any title to the same, and is bound at once to surrender, and, if possible, make compensation. But if the legislature had the right to determine these conditions in the times of the Tudors and Stuarts, it had it, and used it, as the representatives of the nation superintending the application of the nation's property. Has it not the same right to-day ? Either the Irish Established Church has for 300 years been living largely upon what was not righteously hers, or the legislature has rightful and supreme control over the property she holds.

A thoughtful man cannot but be astonished by the statements which some advocates of the Irish Church make upon the subject. They roundly assert that " there was no transfer of property"—that " it is impossible to mention any act of parliament by which property was taken from Romanists and handed over to Protestants." You at once adduce Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity, by which every Roman Catholic is turned out of every benefice in the Church, and also made liable to the penalties of felony and high treason, and by which also the Episcopalian Protestant alone is made capable of holding office. And then these advocates turn round and say "*that has nothing to do with property*"—not a word is said about *property*." It is little good that any cause can get from such advocacy. Then of course if the legislature were to pass a law making subscription to the Roman Catholic creed and ritual the condition of holding any benefice, and rendering any who

would not subscribe liable to imprisonment and death, there would be no transfer of property ! Then if the same power should make subscription to Mormonism the condition there would be no transfer of property, especially if all the bishops but two signed. Then if government should determine that all persons holding parsonages and glebes should keep Day Schools, and all holding Episcopal Temporalities should act as School Inspectors, there would be no transfer of property !

If any readers have been influenced by the astounding assertions of these advocates, let them consider and try to answer the following questions :—

Is not the Church spoken of in the Prayer Book, in Acts of Parliament, and in public documents, as "*the church established by law*" ? Will any man say by what law the Protestant Church was established in Ireland but by the Statutes of Supremacy and Uniformity ? And if these statutes *established the Church* did they not transfer to it the property ?

Do not Protestant Episcopalians hold all the Church property of Ireland to-day ? Can any man say upon what legal ground they alone hold it, except the Statutes of Supremacy and Uniformity ?

Can any man say, in case of a vacancy in the Irish bench of Bishops, what prevents the appointment of the Papal Archbishop Manning ? Is it not law ? And is it not law in the shape of these Statutes ?

If legal proceedings should be taken to eject an incumbent from his living on a charge of heresy, would they not be based upon these statutes ?

4. The Legislature has frequently dealt with Church property in more recent times as the property of the nation. We briefly mention a few instances of this in the history of Ireland.

1. Prior to the Reformation, the *first fruits*, consisting of the entire income for the first year, and *twentieth parts*, being the twentieth part of the sum for every succeeding year, were paid to the Pope. After the Reformation, up to the reign of Queen Anne, they were paid to the Crown. In the reign of Anne the twentieth parts were remitted altogether, "and the first fruits made over to trustees for the purchase of glebe lands, the building of glebe houses, and the increase of small benefices. This trust continued to be exercised for the benefit of the Church, till the passing of the Temporalities Act in 1836, under which the payment of first fruits was entirely abolished."*

2. A large portion of the tithes in Ireland has been abolished.

* Essays, 122.

This took place in the year 1735. Before that time tithes were payable on pasture lands as well as upon land under tillage. There was no room to question the law of the case; for when the payment was refused legal proceedings were taken to enforce it, "and in every instance judgment was given both in the Irish and English courts in favour of the claim." The words of the Rev. Dr. Lee upon this subject are—"By a resolution of the House of Commons, passed in 1735, the clergy were at once deprived of the tithe of agistment—the technical name for the tithe of pasturage of dry and barren cattle—on which the incumbents of many parishes were wholly dependent for support. This tithe was the least objectionable of any, as it fell chiefly upon those who were best able to pay it—viz., the landed proprietors—but they, in their short-sighted selfishness, abolished it, and thus deprived the clergy of *their most profitable tithe*, and themselves of some of their most valuable tenants." He quotes also "*Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*," to the effect that in the year 1734 the Irish House of Commons passed the agistment vote against tithe of pasture for dry cattle, voting in fact that one if not two-thirds of the maintenance of the Established Church should not henceforth be demandable. Is not this dealing with church property as the property of the nation? Is it not much like the remission by the legislature of a public tax? Would Parliament ever think of dealing thus with private estate?

3. In the year 1823 the Legislature again interfered with the property of the Irish Church. An Act was then passed by the united Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland authorizing the establishment of a money composition in lieu of tithes. Subsequently this act was made compulsory and permanent. This was in most cases a decided gain to the payer, and so far a surrender of the interests of the owner.

4. Again, in the year 1834, after long and determined opposition, the Legislature declared in the most decisive way its right to deal not only with Church property, but also with Church institutions, as it might deem most for the public welfare. It passed a most comprehensive and sweeping measure, entitled the "Church Temporalities Act." Heretofore, as in England, the Churches had been kept in repair, the church officers paid, and the requisites provided, by a parochial rate, levied on all householders, of whatever denomination. This rate, amounting to about £60,000 a-year, was altogether abolished, and the parishioners were no longer required to meet the charges for which it had been levied. Moreover, two Archbishoprics were reduced to Bishoprics and ten Bishoprics abolished altogether, and arrangements made by which the cost of Episcopal Supervision was reduced from £151,127

per annum to the present amount of £55,110. By the same act a tax, varying from 2½ to 15 per cent., was made payable out of every Bishopric or Benefice exceeding in net income £300 a-year. Many sinecures in public patronage were abolished, and a standing body of Commissioners appointed to receive the surplus funds and to appropriate them to the building and maintenance of churches, to providing requisites for public worship, and, if I mistake not, to the improvement of poor livings.

5. In the year 1838 Parliament made another great change, by which it took away one quarter of the remaining tithes of the Irish Church. The Examining Chaplain of the Lord Bishop of Derry thus speaks of it. Having stated that tithes had been so generally refused as to reduce many of the Clergy to great straits, he writes :—"After this it was of course impossible that payment could be enforced on the former footing, and, accordingly, in the year 1838 a fresh enactment was made by which the tithe composition heretofore chargeable on the occupiers was converted into a rent charge payable by the owner, who was henceforth *to receive the amount from his tenant in the shape of an addition to the rent*; while the tithe owner was obliged to compound by the sacrifice of one-fourth of his income for the peaceable and regular receipt of the remaining three-fourths. Heavy, however, as was the price exacted, the measure was on the whole received by the clergy as a boon. Whatever their income might now be they were likely to receive it, and they would no longer be brought into direct collision with the small occupiers grudgingly and tardily handing forth the half-crown or shilling at which they were assessed."*

6. Yet again in the year 1854 an additional revenue of more than £12,000 a year, payable, under the name of Ministers money, by the householders of certain of the principal towns, was by Act of Parliament abolished.

The summary of these various acts affecting the property of the Irish Church cannot perhaps be better given than in the language of two very able writers in defence of the Establishment. The Rev. A. W. Edwards says :—"The general result of these various measures affecting tithe, church-rates, and Ministers money, was to diminish the revenue of the Church by nearly £250,000 a year, or about one-third of the whole." The words of the Rev. Dr. Lee, Rector of Ahogill, are :—"One half of the tithes at the Reformation passed into the hands of the laity, with 1480 of her glebes; in 1725, nearly two-thirds of her remaining tithes followed in the same direction; in 1833-38, a fourth of the tithes yet left to her were assigned to the landlords of Ireland, whilst vestry cess,

* Essays, p. 134.

amounting to £60,000 a year and hitherto paid by the laity, was abolished, and the church requisites, formerly furnished by it, were ordered in future to be paid by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners out of a tax, then for the first time imposed, upon the Bishops and Clergy. Since then the funds of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have been further decreased by £12,500 a-year, with the senseless hope of appeasing, at least for a time, the enemies of the Church, who seek for her destruction.”*

If Parliament has done all this it surely has asserted its right to deal with the property of the Irish Church in any way it may deem best for the Irish people.

5. A few expressions of opinion upon the right of Parliament to deal with this question may be given.

The late Dr. Arnold said :—“Whether Ireland remain in its present barbarism or grow in wealth and civilization, the downfall of the present Establishment is certain. A savage people will not endure the insult of a hostile religion,—a civilized one will reasonably insist upon having their own.” Clearly Dr. Arnold could not think it wrong to appropriate Ecclesiastical property otherwise than it is appropriated to-day.

Archbishop Whately says :—“I freely acknowledge that the State has a right to take away the property of all or any of those corporations (indemnifying, of course, those individuals actually enjoying the revenues) whenever the manifest inutility or hurtfulness of the institutions renders their abolition important to the public welfare.”†

Lord Brougham also says :—“I do not remember one argument in support of these establishments which would sanction anything so monstrous as a Church amply endowed, richly provided for at the expense of the whole community, which only ministers to the spiritual wants of a very small fraction of the people. I well remember a phrase used by one, not a foe of Church Establishments—I mean Mr. Burke—‘Don’t talk of its being a Church !—It is a wholesale Robbery!’ . . . I have, my Lords, heard it called an anomaly, and I say that it is an anomaly of so gross a kind that it outrages every principle of common sense : and every one endowed with common reason must feel that it is the most gross outrage to that common sense, as it is also of justice. Such an Establishment, kept up for such a purpose, kept up by such

* Essays, p. 237.

means, and upheld by such a system, is a thing wholly peculiar to Ireland, and could be tolerated nowhere else.”*

6. Counter arguments upon the subject of property, with answers :—

1. That the present Established Church is the same Church as that which anciently existed in Ireland before the introduction of Popery, about the time of Henry II., and therefore has a right to the church property.

(a.) It is not the same Church, but it is very much nearer to it than the Roman Catholic church is. That ancient Church was not a State Establishment; had neither diocesan episcopacy, nor the parochial system; was supported by the free-will offerings and benefactions of the people; it never made or had any legal claim to tithes; they were set up, together with Popery, in the time of Henry II. Might have held some lands, as some Nonconformist Churches now do, but what definitely they were nobody can tell. (See proofs of this under proposition V.)

2. That the present Established Church is the same as before the Reformation, the bishops, clergy, and people having conformed, and therefore has a perfect right to the Church property.

(a.) It is true that all the Bishops but two conformed, but it is not true that either the clergy or the people, beyond a very small number, went with the Reformation—on the contrary, they were stoutly opposed to it. (See proofs of this under proposition III.) So that if conformity was necessary to give right then the Protestant Church has none.

(b.) How far is this doctrine to go? If the Government should some day pass an Act of Uniformity, admitting to Benefices only men holding the opinions of Dr. Colenso, or, on the other hand, only Roman Catholics, would the conformists have a right to the property? If not how will you limit the operation of this doctrine of conformity?

(c.) This argument is directly contradictory of the foregoing one. That argument was the property belongs to us and not to Roman Catholics, because *in virtue of our opinions* we are the same Church as that which existed in primitive times in Ireland; this says the property is ours because we are the same Church as before the Reformation, *notwithstanding difference in opinion*; that says church property should go with *opinions*; this says No, it should go with *persons*, however much they may change their opinions; that says the property is ours, because we are the true representatives of the pure and ancient Church, and Roman Catho-

* Hansard, vol. 44, pp. 932-9.

lics sacrificed their rights by becoming heretics ; this says these heretics had good right to the property, and our right is founded upon their right, as we and they form one Church.

(*d.*) It is amusing to observe the difference in tone certain writers show at different times. Where tithes, glebes, deaneries, and episcopal palaces are in question "we are the same Church, the same living corporate body as before the Reformation." But when the Maynooth endowment is in question, or giving any portion of Church property to those with whom 300 years ago we formed one Church, the same corporate body, then "What ! endow Popery ! The mother of abominations ! The scarlet woman ! The house of priestcraft ! The enemy of all progress ! The blight of Ireland ! Antichrist !" What strange relations men will sometimes own for the sake of money ! Dean Murray, in his book on the Church in Ireland, says :—"Every conscientious and consistent Churchman must protest against Romanism, as idolatrous and superstitious ; and every honest and sincere Romanist must denounce the Church of England, as heretical and schismatical."*

(*e.*) But the brief, true, and sufficient answer to all this vain talk about the same church as the primitive one, or the same church as before the Reformation, is this—The property is not the property of ecclesiastics, or of persons of this opinion or of that. At the time of the Reformation the legislature deemed that it would be for the good of Ireland that the proceeds of the property should be taken from men holding one set of opinions and given to men holding very different ones. Either Parliament had a right to do this, or it had not ; if it had, the same right remains now, which involves the recognition of the fact that the property is the property of the nation, to be administered by the Legislature for the nation's good.

3rd Argument or assertion.—The property is ours by prescription of 300 years. If 300 years do not give a sound title how many will ?

(*a.*) Was this held valid at the time of the Reformation ? The Roman Catholics of that time could plead a prescription of just upon 400 years.

(*b.*) As to the entire property it was never really theirs or yours ; it was a fund appropriated to pay certain public officers for certain services, but the lapse of time could give them no prescriptive right to the fund, however long these payments might have been continued.

4th Argument or assertion.—Tithes are the most ancient rents in Ireland, and the most indefeasible in their title, since there is

* Page 241, Note.

not a single existing tenure in Ireland that does not date long subsequently to the period when they became the law of the land.

This may give to the Legislature a valid ground to demand tithes if it shall deem it for the good of the nation to do so, but does not prove that they belong of right, for ever, to men holding any class of views, or that the Legislature is bound to demand or dispose of them otherwise than may be considered most for the general welfare.

5th Argument or assertion.—Nine-tenths of those who pay tithes in Ireland are Protestants, for the land-owners pay the tithes, and nine-tenths of the landlords are Protestants; as for the rest, they have purchased the property subject to the law of tithes.

The question is not so much who pays the tithes, as to whom do they ultimately belong? With whom rests the right of appropriation? If they are paid for the national good, according to the national will, the question of who pays them will not make them the actual property of one class or of another.

A full discussion of the question Who pays tithes? will be found in the chapter on the fourth proposition, in which an attempt is made to expose the fallacies of various statements advanced upon this subject, and to show that the payment is associated in the minds of the Irish people with an insuperable sense of injustice, which must render efforts to win them to Protestantism hopeless, so long as the payment is enforced.

We here close the chapter upon the Ecclesiastical Property in Ireland, not without hope that candid readers will see in its facts, testimonies, and arguments, sufficient warrant for the proposition : —THAT, EXCEPTING BENEFACTIONS MADE BY PRIVATE PERSONS TO THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN IRELAND, THE ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY OF THE COUNTRY IS THE PROPERTY OF THE PUBLIC, AND THAT THE LEGISLATURE HAS FULL RIGHT TO EMPLOY IT AS MAY BE DEEMED BEST FOR THE NATIONAL WELFARE.

CHAPTER II.

II.—That if the dis-establishment of the Irish Church would be for the welfare of Ireland, there is nothing in the Coronation Oath, or in the Compact of the Union of 1800, that can fairly stand in the way.

1. It is often said that by proposing to dis-establish the Church you call upon her Majesty to violate her solemn oath. Here, then, is the oath; let us carefully look at it. By 1 Wm. and M., ch. 6, and 5 Anne, ch. 8th, the Sovereign, on the day of coronation, swears thus:—

“Archbishop.—Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the respective laws and customs of the same?

“Queen.—I solemnly promise so to do.

“Archbishop.—Will you, to the utmost of your power, cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?

“Queen.—I will.

“Archbishop.—Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law? and will you maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the united Church of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, as by law established within England and Ireland, and the territories thereunto belonging? And will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of England and Ireland, and to the churches there committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges, as by law do, or shall appertain to them, or any of them?

“Queen.—All this I promise to do.”

This is the entire oath.

One says —“The resolutions of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) called, in effect, upon her Majesty to violate her oath.”

Another writes:—“It [dis-establishment] will cause the Sovereign of this realm to perjure herself.”

Without stopping to question the application of the word perjury, which is properly used to designate, not the breaking of an oath honestly made, but false swearing, I may say that this statement is a very strong one, and in my view wholly groundless.

If the Sovereign sanctions only the measures passed by Parliament there is not the shadow of a reason for charging her with perjury. Have you considered the entire oath? It can be understood only by fairly regarding both parts; then it will be seen that it binds the Sovereign only in her executive capacity, and its meaning, so far as the negative part is concerned, is that she shall not employ the power of her position and prerogatives to destroy the institutions of the country.

This is plain from the first part, the positive and foundation part, of the oath, which is in these words—"Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging, *according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the customs of the same.*"

Answer—"I solemnly promise to do so."

The oath has reference to her manner of governing; and if she does not do that "according to the statutes that have been, and that may be agreed on, in Parliament, and the customs of the same," then she violates her oath.

That the oath binds the Sovereign in no such manner as to call upon her to oppose the voice of Parliament is further evident from this, that if it does, our Sovereigns are much to be pitied, for they have been mostly perjured persons, and must of necessity be so. They swear "to preserve unto the bishops and clergy of England and Ireland and to the churches there committed to their charge, *all such rights and privileges as by law do, or shall appertain to them, or any of them.*" If this is a solemn oath not to sanction any legislative acts affecting the rights and privileges of bishops and clergy, *which it must be*, unless the oath be restricted to the Sovereign's executive capacity, then when in 1735 the tithe of agistment, or the tithe upon pasture land for dry and barren cattle, their most profitable tithe, was abolished, the Sovereign was guilty of perjury; when, in 1823 and following years, the Legislature made it obligatory upon the clergy to receive a money composition in lieu of tithes, which was in many cases a decided surrender of a portion of their rights, the Sovereign was guilty of perjury; when, in 1834, the Church Temporalities Act for Ireland was passed, by which a rate of £60,000 a-year, for keeping churches in repair, was abolished, two archbishoprics were reduced to bishoprics, ten bishoprics abolished, nearly £100,000 per annum taken from the bishop's sees, and many offices besides extinguished, the Sovereign was guilty of perjury; when in 1838 Parliament gave up one quarter of the tithes of Ireland, and made them payable by the landlord in place of the tenant, the Sovereign must have been guilty of perjury; and when, in 1854, Ministers' money amounting to £12,000

a year was given up, once more the Sovereign was called upon to perjure herself. And now the Queen, in giving her sanction to the Church Rate Abolition Bill, which has been accepted by both Houses of Parliament, must "perjure" herself; and moreover the men who support Mr. Disraeli and propose to reform the Irish Church by the abolition of some of the bishoprics and other dignities, are proposing that the Queen shall "perjure" herself as truly as Mr. Gladstone. If his measures involve perjury so do theirs. A man is as truly guilty of perjury by swearing falsely in five points as in a hundred. If the oath is to be understood as many interpret it, then whenever any, even the least, rights and privileges, by law appertaining to the "bishops and clergy of England and Ireland and to the churches committed to their charge," have been diminished, abolished, or taken away, even by the Legislature, there the Sovereign has in every case violated the Coronation oath. And this oath, thus understood, would prevent *for ever* any change by the Legislature in the rights and privileges of the bishops and clergy, however much the interest of the nation might demand it, and the people and Parliament desire it, except upon condition that the Sovereign "should be made to perjure herself." Such an interpretation *cannot be the right one*. You see that it *is erroneous* if you look at the first part of the oath; you see that it *must be erroneous* if you look at the consequences to which it leads.

Moreover, to whom is this solemn "promise" given? Is it not to the nation represented by the archbishop? And cannot the monarch be released, if need be, by the expressed will of the nation, for whose benefit it was given? If the nation, by legislative enactment, has, for its own security, determined to exact the pledge, can it not, by legislative action, for its own welfare, propose the abrogation of such part of it as may be deemed advisable? What forbids?

II. It is alleged that you cannot dis-establish the Irish Church without violating the Act of Union of 1800, thus virtually destroying the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

The 5th article of that Act to which reference is made, is in these words—"That it be the fifth article of the Act of Union, that the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called the United Church of England and Ireland; and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United Church shall be, and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England. And that the continuance and preservation of the said United Church as the Established Church of England and Ireland shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the

Union, and that, in like manner, the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Ireland shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the Acts for the union of the two kingdoms of England and Ireland."

Three things should here be carefully observed :—

1. This is a contract; and a contract can be altered or abrogated by the contracting parties. The contracting parties are Great Britain and Ireland; but if both parties see that it will be for their advantage to modify the contract, why should they not do so? Why should not the same powers that made the contract agree to alter it? What principle of moral obligation is violated?

2. If the contracting parties can neither alter nor abrogate the contract, *look at the consequences*. Then Great Britain and Ireland are in this predicament—whatever happens the terms of the Union must be rigidly kept. Both parties may see that the true life of the nation would be immensely invigorated; that the ends of the Union would be far better secured by departing, in some respects, from the terms of the original contract; but, because you have these terms upon a piece of parchment, national welfare must be sacrificed and *sacrificed for ever*. For the words are—they "shall be, and shall remain in force for ever." Can it be reasonable that one Parliament shall thus have the power to tie up all future generations from free action even in the most momentous matters?

3. That the contracting parties have the right to modify or to abrogate the contract is clear from the action which has already been taken by the Legislature, and from the judgments of moralists and statesmen. Lord Macaulay's words upon this subject will suffice to prove the point :—"We are told of the fifth article of the Union, as if the fifth article of the Union were more sacred than the fourth. * * * Yet the provisions of the fourth article have been altered with the almost unanimous consent of all parties in the State."*

"It is not by the traditions of ecclesiastical or political parties that that question (of the Irish Church) should be judged, but solely in reference to the good of Ireland, as an integral part of the United Kingdom. For, as the good of the nation is the only end for which a national institution ought to exist, it is only as conducive to that end that its existence can be maintained with justice or defended with honour. The Irish Church disdains to save her position in the Constitution by clinging to the skirts of the English Church or *appealing to the Act of Union*. She depends not on the patronage of English Church-

* Hansard, vol. lxi., p. 65.

men, nor even on the pledge of a national compact ; and, if her connection with the State as the Established Church of Ireland be not for the good of Ireland let that connection be severed at once." Such are the wise words of the writer of the first of the *Essays on the Irish Church* by Irish clergymen.

Sir Robert Peel, the great constitutional minister, declared—"that not even the solemn compact of the Act of Union between two ancient and independent kingdoms, would stand in his way if he thought that the Established Church in Ireland ought to be destroyed."*

On another occasion, speaking of the Act of Union, Sir R. Peel said :—"But, it may be asked, are compact and authority to be conclusive and decisive ? If we are ourselves convinced that the social welfare of Ireland requires an alteration in the law and a departure from that compact and a disregard of that authority, are our legislative functions so bound up that we must maintain the compact in spite of our convictions ? I, for one, am not prepared to contend for such a proposition."†

But we have on this point a much higher authority in Lord Brougham, who, in 1825, on the occasion of Mr. Hume's fourth annual motion on this subject, pointed attention to the fact that the Legislature had cancelled one of the most explicit terms of the Act of Union with Scotland :—

"Much," he remarked, "had been said of the compact of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and its inviolability. Yet, who that looked at the previous union between Scotland and England, but must be convinced that it was incidental to such treaties or engagements to be subjected to the future consideration of the Legislature ? In the Scottish compact, though many of the provisions were left open to the future deliberation of the united Parliament, yet there was one on which, from many considerations of local circumstances, from feudal attachments, from personal feelings, the compact of the union was precise and most strict ; it was the institution of heritable jurisdiction, which, though guarded by such barriers from interference, was forty years after abolished by the enactment of the Legislature."

IS IT NOT CLEAR THAT IF THE DIS-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE IRISH CHURCH BE FOR THE WELFARE OF IRELAND THERE IS NOTHING IN THE CORONATION OATH, OR IN THE COMPACT OF THE UNION OF 1800, THAT CAN FAIRLY STAND IN THE WAY ?

* Dean Murray, *Ireland and her Church*, p. 360, Note.

† Speech on state of Ireland, in House of Commons. *Times*, Feb. 26, 1844.

CHAPTER III.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

III.—That the Establishment of the Church has been injurious to her spiritual life and an obstacle to her success, and therefore detrimental to religion.

The proper work of a *Church* is to serve Christ and bless man by maintaining and extending the Gospel. Has the establishment of the Church in Ireland made it the most efficient instrument for that work? Has it produced such fruits as to leave no room for fair question whether or not it ought to be maintained as the best means of converting men to the truth, and training them for immortality?

A fair examination of the facts of history from the time when, 700 years ago, under Henry II., the State took the Church into close alliance with itself will disclose much reason to conclude that the alliance has been to her a great calamity. Through that alliance she has lost her power of free action; plans of usefulness which she would have surely carried out as a Church, she has failed to devise or entertain as an Establishment. Through that alliance she came to depend upon the State; and, tempted to trust too much in worldly status, wealth, and power, she mournfully forgot and forsook the source from which all Church power must proceed; she became a spectacle of splendid weakness amidst mighty foes. Through that alliance many men were appointed to the highest offices for almost any other reasons than eminent piety, ability, and zeal; and did almost anything but what should have been their special work; many, under them, followed an example which permitted sloth, self-indulgence, and petty strife. Through that alliance the Church, being in the hands of political rulers, was made by them a system of machinery for working out political designs; and thus, becoming identified with much that was impolitic and cruel, she raised in the minds of the majority of the people insurmountable obstacles to the success of her mission. In short, the establishment of the Church in Ireland—whatever may have been the effect of that measure elsewhere—robbed her of free action, of vital power and of Christlike consecration, opened the doors of her highest offices to men of worldly ambition, degraded her from the high place of a witness for Christ into an instrument of State craft, and oftentimes into the disgraced tool of faction and the detested abettor of wrong. We speak not

of probable results but of actual fruits, concerning which some of the ablest friends of the Church bear the most decided testimony.

Let us look at the state of things from the time of Henry II. to the Reformation.

It was under this monarch that the Church was by Law Established in Ireland, that tithes were enacted, that *Diocesan* episcopacy was commenced, and that the Institutes of the Church were incorporated with the law of the land.

That none may suspect that historical facts are drawn or dressed from imagination, authorities and testimonies will be freely given, and in any case of doubt or surprise the reader is entreated to search them thoroughly and weigh them well ; all the more as they are, well nigh without exception, either from standard historians, who have taken no part in this controversy, or from writers in defence of the Irish Church ; and no evidence can well be stronger than that which they abundantly supply that the Civil Establishment of the Church has been detrimental to religion.

It seems very clear that, from the middle of the fifth century, possibly much earlier, up to the middle of the twelfth, there existed in Ireland a Native Evangelical and Independent Church. Upon this interesting point some facts will hereafter demand our attention. Of course the Romish Church, carried forward by her ever cherished dream of Universal Supremacy, sought to subjugate this, as well as all other churches. Many Danes had settled in the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, who were, it appears, much inclined to a close union with the Roman Church. Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick, heartily promoted this. He wrote a book upon the Service of the Church, in the preface of which he states that " he had drawn it up at the request of many of the bishops and clergy, in order that those diverse and schismatical orders of service by which almost all Ireland is deluded may give place to one Catholic and Roman order." " In return for this service he was appointed to the office, hitherto unknown in Ireland, of Papal Legate, and in that capacity presided at the Synod of Rathbreasil, A.D. 1118, notwithstanding the presence there of Kellach or Celsus, the Primate of Armagh, and also of the Archbishop of the newly-constituted see of Cashel. Thus begun, the work of subjection or (as it was mildly put) conformity progressed rapidly. Celsus was the next to espouse the cause, which was finally victorious under his successor, Malachi. Hitherto the *pallium*, the Romish symbol of archiepiscopal dignity, and likewise of archiepiscopal subjection, had been unknown in Ireland, where indeed the office of an archbishop, in the modern sense of the term, had only very recently been recognised ; but now by the exertions of Malachi, who went twice to Rome for the purpose

(having first, as a pledge of his disinterestedness, resigned his archbishopric), and also used all his influence at home for the same end, it was brought to pass that, at a National Council or Synod, held at Kells, A.D. 1152, and presided over by Cardinal Paparo as Legate from the Pope, the sees of Dublin and Tuam being erected into archbishoprics, their prelates, with those of the older sees of Armagh and Cashel, were invested with the badge of Papal supremacy, and took the oath which bound them and their Church to Rome."*

Three years after this, A.D. 1155, Pope Adrian IV. issued a bull giving Ireland to Henry II., king of England, that he "might reform morals, explain the true Christian faith, and widen the bounds of the Church." It was not, however, till the month of October, 1171, that Henry landed at Waterford to take possession. The chieftains, with few exceptions, acquiesced, and all opposition was soon at an end. "The clergy likewise, and especially the hierarchy, received with open arms one sent to them directly by the Pope, and who came laden with promises of increased wealth, influence, and protection to themselves. Accordingly, kings, nobles, archbishops, bishops, and abbots vied with one another in the alacrity with which they assembled at his command, acknowledging him king and lord of Ireland, and swearing fealty to him and his heirs for ever. If the surmise be correct, that a mutual understanding already existed between Henry and the clergy, he certainly lost no time in fulfilling his part of the contract." One of his first acts was to summon a council at Cashel, at which it was enacted that all things shall in future, in all parts of Ireland, be regulated after the model of Holy Church, and according to the observances of the Anglican Church. "Several canons of the Council tended to the exaltation and emolument of the clergy, especially that by which tithes, heretofore almost unknown in Ireland, were now directed to be paid on all cattle, corn, and other produce. These decrees being confirmed by Henry, tithes may be considered as having been now established by secular as well as by spiritual authority."†

The panacea proposed for all evils was to bring the Church into conformity with Rome and into close union with secular power, which might give it order, wealth, and dignity. And what were the effects?

1. *One was to disgust the people by setting up the system of compulsory tithes.* Lannigan asserts that "the decrees of this Council

* Essays on the Irish Church by clergymen of the Established Church in Ireland, pp. 77-8.

† See Gir. Camb., Hib. Exp., Part i., c. 33, &c.

were disregarded by the Irish clergy and people, who looked only to their ecclesiastical rules as if the Synod of Cashel had never been held (iv., 217). It is certain that the imposition of tithes occasioned great offence. The Rev. William Anderson, writing as an Irish rector, on the difficulties of the Irish Church, says—"It was one of the first acts of the English Crown to provide for the maintenance of the parochial system by giving to the clergy the tithes of their respective parishes. Whatever good may have flowed from this payment in supporting the Irish clergy, the *imposition of a new tax by the foreign conqueror for their benefit made them unpopular. Tithes were hated as oppressive and anti-Irish. They were regarded as a badge of conquest.* The conduct of the men appointed to high places in the Irish Church after the invasion did not mitigate this prejudice. Many of them were taken from the ranks of the invaders." Another Rector writes of what was then done thus:—"The bishops and clergy, whose *wealth, power, and social position* were considerably enhanced under the new regime, and among whom moreover a considerable infusion of English ecclesiastics was speedily introduced, were also, for the most part, devoted adherents of England and of Rome. Thus far the establishment of the church enriched the clergy, but built a wall of separation between them and the people."

2. A second result of the Secular Establishment of Religion was that "all who followed the native customs or spake the Irish language were excluded from preferment. The native Irish had little reason to love either the bishops or the clergy of the Irish Church. The original defect of the Irish episcopate was exaggerated by the conduct and character of the pre-Reformation bishops."* If the design had been to alienate the people it would be difficult to devise anything more adapted to that end. The aim of all successful missions is to raise up a native ministry; and, till this is done, the plan of the most successful missionaries has been to approach as near as possible to the people they would bless by mastering their language and submitting, as far as may be, to their mode of life. Here, for political purposes, the people were compelled to see their own native pastors, who alone could invest the truths of religion with the charms of their native tongue, and as fellow countrymen, of somewhat better education and higher office, could share their most intimate sympathies, publicly discouraged and disgraced. That which commended them to the people's hearts deprived them of the honours of their Church. However eminent their piety, or great their ability, if they "spake the Irish language or followed the Irish customs, they were excluded from

* Essays, p. 159.

preferment." Could any church but an Establishment in the hand of politicians have taken such a course? Could any body of unshackled Christian men have been either so blind to the right methods of accomplishing their mission or so wilful in throwing them aside? The true work of a Church is to convert men to Christ and to guide them in His truth; the aim of the secular power was to subjugate the people to itself; and, thinking this might effectually be done by making Irishmen into Englishmen, it set itself to bring about this change; and, using the Church as its tool, it stigmatised and excluded from all credit and honour the only men who could preach the Gospel in a language they could understand to perhaps nineteen out of every twenty of the population!—and that too precisely because they were able and willing to do this!

3. Corresponding with this was the enactment of harsh statutes against almost everything that was peculiarly Irish. The Rev. William Anderson, after stating that some of the English and Scotch colonists had adopted the Irish language and mode of life, which was regarded as reducing the number of the friends of England and swelling her foes, says,—to prevent this,—“several statutes were passed against Irish customs, Irish laws, and even the Irish language. Thus not only were the Irish people the conquered vassals of a more civilized race to which they were inferior in the arts of war, in religion, and in social life, and by whom they were treated with contempt; but they found their own customs, dress, manner of living and usages of social and domestic life forbidden *under the harshest penalties*, not only in their own case, but in the case of any of the conquering race who might think fit to adopt them. Contempt on one side engendered vindictiveness on the other. *The Irish people clung with the most desperate tenacity to those venerable usages which they saw so scornfully and bitterly proscribed.* It became henceforth a point of honour to retain them.”

It may be said this is very sad no doubt, but what has it to do with the Church and her Establishment? Let the same writer answer—“*The chief agents of this anti-Irish policy were the bishops. The bishops were the most powerful members of the Government. In the absence of the lay peers they were frequently the majority of the Upper House. The instruments of this coercive and barbarous policy could not but become objects of special detestation.*” He intimates that at some time or other the consequences would come—“This sentiment might perhaps be concealed so long as all parties were united on the subject of religion, while there was nothing to try the influence of the superior over the inferior clergy, or over their respective flocks. But so soon as any

occasion would arise to try this influence—the moment they put themselves at the head of any movement which it was desirable to render popular—then the remembrance of the accumulated wrongs which they had lent themselves to inflict would burst forth and it would be seen how little real authority they possessed with the mass of the population.”*

Was the Church helped or damaged by its political alliances? Who can doubt? But mark yet:—

4. Another mournful effect of union with the State was, that the awful spiritual powers of the Church were prostituted to the accomplishment of merely political objects. Brennan, a Franciscan, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, says, of the pre-Reformation bishops—“One truth is certain, that while these men, with power and influence at their command, were thus busily employed in the political management of foreign interests, the general state, the peace and prosperity of Ireland were subjects scarcely ever contemplated, they were wantonly and shamefully disregarded.”†

The same historian admits that, by a statute passed in the reign of Edward IV., the prelates of Ireland *were obliged, under the penalty of £100, to pronounce sentence of excommunication on such of the king's subjects as the authorities should think proper to pronounce disaffected.*

He gives a translation of the words of the oath drawn up by Henry VII., to be taken by all prelates of the Irish Church, as follows:—“I, A. B., shall, from this day forward, as often as I shall on the behalf of our sovereign lord the king be lawfully required, *execute the censures of the Church*, by the authority of our Holy Father, Pope Innocent VIII., and by his bull given, under lead, against all those of his subjects of what dignity, degree, state, or condition they may be, that disturbeth or troubleth our said sovereign lord, or his title to the Crown of England, and lordship of Ireland; or causeth commotion or rebellion against the same; or aideth, supporteth, comforteth, any of those traitors or rebels that intendeth the destruction of his said realm of England and lordship of Ireland, &c.”‡

In accordance with this, the Rev. W. Anderson, says—“The limits of dioceses had not been firmly settled, nor had diocesan episcopacy become a national institution till the century of the English invasion. After this invasion, the bishops became identified with the English interest in Ireland. *They lent their spiritual authority to the coercive measures that were most unpopular in Ire-*

* *Essays*, pp. 166-67.

† *Vol. ii.*, p. 23.

‡ *Vol. ii.*, pp. 59 and 84, quoted *Essays*, 167.

*land, and they were regarded as the instigators and accomplices of the laws which were passed against the language and the customs of the Irish race."**

Another Irish rector, the Rev. Arthur W. Edwards, speaking of the times prior to the Reformation, writes—"There is abundant evidence likewise to prove that the secular clergy, as a body, degenerated during this period to a deplorable extent, not only in piety but even in outward morality and decency of conduct; a result not a little furthered by the introduction of large numbers of English and Welsh ecclesiastics, who flocked over to seek preferment, and were frequently men of loose and immoral lives—the off-scourings of the Anglican Church. The bishops moreover soon learned to make use of their spiritual powers of anathema, excommunication, and interdict, in order to advance their own profit, to avenge some real or supposed injury, *or not unfrequently to give force and effect to the otherwise nugatory edicts of the English Government; by which means the whole system of church discipline and censure, wholesome and scriptural in itself, fell into absolute loathing and contempt.*" And, as authorities for these strong statements, he cites Lanigan, Mant, &c.†

5. Moreover measures for the good of Ireland were defeated by the heads of the church, under the influence of political motives. The prelates of the church were frequently the prime powers in the state. The colonists "gave to the bishops the highest places in the land, in station, in power and in wealth; they placed them before the oldest families; they gave them precedence of the Irish Kings. But many of the bishops were Englishmen. They became the confidential ministers of the English Crown. The bishops were not only invited to the highest council of the nation, but their proportion to the lay lords was so considerable, many of the latter being absentees, that the bishops not unfrequently formed the majority of the whole."‡

The Abbé Mac Geoghegan records the fate of an attempt which was made to found a University in Ireland for the instruction of the natives. The proposal was defeated through the opposition of one of the principal members of the Council, who was a bishop. So one of his friends, who expressed his surprise that a Catholic bishop should frustrate so holy and statutory a measure, the prelate answered, "that he had not decided as a Bishop of the Catholic Church, but as a Senator of England." ||

Indeed, a review of the period of 400 years from the Estab-

* Essays, p. 167.

† Eccl. Hist. vol. iv., p. 243; Mant's Hist. vol. i., p. 34; Essays p. 85.

‡ Essays, 174.

|| Mac Geoghegan's History, vol. i., p. 197.

lishment of the Church in the time of Henry II. to the Reformation, will lead us to admit the justice of the brief but emphatic words in which an Irish Rector says—"The interests of the Crown and of the Papacy were hitherto believed to be identical ; they had lent each other effectual aid. The Roman Church excommunicated the enemies of England ; the English Crown aggrandized the Roman Church."*

Must we not admit that prior to the Reformation, at least, the Establishment of the Church by its union with the State was detrimental to religion ?

* Essays, 176.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ESTABLISHMENT AFTER THE REFORMATION.

A COERCED PEOPLE DISGUSTED AND REPELLED.

III.—That the Establishment of the Church in Ireland has been injurious to her spiritual life, an obstacle to her success, and, therefore, detrimental to religion.

We have seen that in Roman Catholic times the Church was the tool of the State; was it so after the Reformation? It was. Many facts, resting upon unequivocal testimony, lead to the conclusion that the civil establishment of Protestantism was its great calamity. Had it escaped from the unclean hands of ambitious and worldly men, had it come before the people free from their blighting patronage, not wearing the habiliments of a corrupt court, but in the simple grace and dignity of truth from heaven, it would have gained a power in Ireland incomparably greater than it has to day.

Look at some of the consequences of its union with the State.

1. *In the first place the people, many of the English as well as the Irish, were disgusted and repelled because Protestantism was forced upon them by legal enactments and severe penalties.*

By some persons, in whom large confidence seems to be united with very limited information, it is asserted that the clergy and people generally were in favour of the Reformation, and conformed to the Protestant Establishment.

These statements are completely erroneous. THE FACT IS THAT, EXCEPTING THE BISHOPS, THE GREAT BODY OF THE CLERGY AND OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND, BOTH IN THE TIME OF EDWARD VI. AND ELIZABETH, EITHER KNEW NEXT TO NOTHING OF PROTESTANTISM, OR WERE STOUTLY OPPOSED TO IT.

As to the state of feeling in the time of Henry VIII. Leland states that :—"The old natives were excluded from the pale of English law and the privilege of representation in Parliament. The synods of the clergy were held, as the records express it, '*inter Anglicos*.'" Bishop Brown, writing to the Lord Cromwell, speaks of the furious zeal of the people, "whose blind attachment to Rome was as determined as the constancy of the most enlightened martyrs to true religion." "Two proctors from each diocese, who had usually been summoned to Parliament, and composed a formidable body of ecclesiastics, avowed adherents of the Holy See, were not permitted to vote." "But although the

partisans of Rome were thus deprived of the assistance of so powerful a body, yet when the Act of *Supremacy came to be proposed, Lords and Commons joined in expressing their abhorrence of the spiritual authority assumed by the King.*" Again, "Fear served to allay the violence of those who could not be persuaded; so that the most determined partisans of Rome were obliged to reserve themselves for a clandestine opposition to the execution of a law which they could not prevent from being enacted; and which, in despite of the legislative authority, they still opposed with indefatigable zeal."* Archbishop Brown, writing to Cromwell in 1538, complains bitterly of the opposition he met with, declaring that ever since the first settlement of the English in Ireland the old natives have always been desirous of some foreign power to support and govern them; and now both English and Irish sacrifice their private quarrels to the cause of religion, and seem on the point of forming a dangerous confederacy, which some foreigner may be soon invited to lead against the English Government." Bishop Mant, in his history of the Irish Church, speaking of this period, says:—"The majority of the bishops, as well as the inferior clergy, were decidedly attached to the Popish Creed and practice."†

The testimony of the historian Brown as to the same period is in the following words:—"But, except Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, few of the dignified clergy heartily complied. The primate of Armagh not only hindered most of his suffragans and inferior clergy from submission, but laid a curse on all the people that should own Henry's supremacy, pretending that as the country had been characterized 'the Holy Island' it belonged to none but the Bishop of Rome. And indeed such was the brutish ignorance of both clergy and laity, and their zealous attachment to the idolatries and superstitions of Rome, that they needed no instigation."

Here then are the testimonies of Archbishop Brown and of Bishop Mant, as well as of the Protestant historians, Leland and Brown, that, in the time of Henry VIII., both clergy and people were zealously opposed to the Reformation.

Was it the same in the time of Edward VI.? Leland, speaking of that reign, says:—"In England the dispositions of a great part of the people concurred with the Crown, and even ran before the rulers in the revolt from popery. In Ireland the Reformation was tendered to a prejudiced and reluctant people. . . . The vindictive character of Henry VIII., and the rigour of his government, had driven many of the pale, as well as of the Irish race, to formal professions and condescensions, which the very ease and readiness with which they were made show to have been made

* Vol. II., p. 159-167.

† Vol. I., p. 188.

without due attention and serious conviction. The authority of a minor King was less esteemed or dreaded, at the same time that the requisitions now to be made were more extensive, and did greater violence to the popular prejudices.”*

Again he tells us not only that Dowdal, Archbishop of Armagh, and his suffragan bishops stoutly opposed it, and thus gained popularity with the people, but adds :—“The prejudices conceived against the Reformation, by the Irish natives more especially, were still further increased by the conduct of those who were commissioned to remove the objects and instruments of popular superstition.”†

Again he adds :—“But, the truth is, that the business of a religious reformation in Ireland had hitherto *been nothing more than the impositions of the English Government on a prejudiced and bigotted people*, not sufficiently obedient to this government, not sufficiently impressed with fear or reconciled by kindness,” (p. 201). The measures of Mary for the restoration and establishment of Popery were, he testifies, received with general acclamation in a country “which had scarcely known any other” religion.

On the death of Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth, shall we, after this, find nearly all the clergy and people Protestants? Nothing of the sort. The Reformed worship was established by the Parliament which met in Dublin January 11th, 1560. Leland says :—“It appears by the catalogue of this Parliament that most of the temporal lords were those whose descendants, even to our own days, continued firmly attached to the Romish communion; but *far the greater part of the prelates were such as quietly enjoyed their sees by conforming occasionally to different modes of religion*; nor doth it appear that of the whole number, amounting to 19, more than 2, Welsh, of Meath, and Levereux, of Kildare, were strenuous and determined adherents of the ancient religion.” “In the House of Commons we find representatives summoned for 10 counties only, the rest, which made up the number to 76, were citizens and burgesses of those towns in which the royal authority was predominant. It is therefore little wonder that, in despite of clamour and opposition, in a session of a few weeks, the whole ecclesiastical system of Queen Mary was entirely reversed by a series of statutes conformable to those already enacted by the English legislature.” The counties represented were ten—Dublin, Meath, Westmeath, Louth, Kildare, Catherlow, Kilkenny, Waterford, Tipperary, Wexford. The ten counties *not represented* were—Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Connaught, Clare, Antrim, Arde, Down, Kings’ County, Queens’ County. But the Deputy was so much alarmed by oppo-

* Leland II., 192-3.

† Vol. II., 196.

sition, even in this small and picked Parliament, that he dissolved it in a few weeks. The people were "provoked by the violence offered to their religious prejudices." "The clergy who refused to conform abandoned their cures; no reformed ministers could be found to supply their places; the churches fell to ruin; the people were left without any religious worship or instruction." "Even in places of most civility the statutes lately made were evaded or neglected with impunity." Three years afterwards the historian speaks of "the total neglect of religion" and the "melancholy prospect" of Ireland, and states that in consequence of this Sir Henry Sidney was appointed Deputy "and a new Irish Privy Council had especial instructions to concur with the Lord Deputy in every measure for enforcing the authority of the Queen and her laws, and for propagating true religion. They found the civil and ecclesiastical state of Ireland in the most alarming disorder."* Such indeed was the power of Romanism that in 1570, twelve years after Elizabeth's accession to the throne, the "three northern bishoprics, those of Clogher, Derry, and Raphoe, were still granted by the Pope, without control."†

In addition to these historical statements, let the following testimonies concerning the state of feeling towards the Reformation, furnished by Irish Rectors within the last three years, all of them writing in defence of the present Establishment, be considered.

"Now it is of course true, and has been fully acknowledged in the preceding pages that, owing to various adverse circumstances, the Church of this country (Ireland), when accepting the Reformation, failed in drawing with her the mass of the population; and that she has consequently always been, and still is, in a very numerical minority."‡

The following are the words of another of the Essayists—"The Irish were as little qualified to judge of such articles of the Reformed religion as they were *unwilling to receive it*. The most difficult task which was ever committed to a Christian Church was entrusted to the Irish Church in the days of Elizabeth. The conversion, at the present day, of the Roman Catholic Poles to the Greek Church would be much easier."

"The Irish Protestant Church was expected to precipitate, in a few years, reforms which had been (in England) ripening for centuries. Without any combination of parties in her favour, and in spite of the bitterest national hostility (henceforth to take the form of religious antipathy, and to be fostered by the Roman priests, as unscrupulous in their enmity to England as they had formerly been

* Leland, pp. 224-232.

† Page 248.

‡ Essays on Irish Church, p. 145.

in their friendship), the Irish Church was expected to effect changes in the popular worship and belief, which (so far as we can tell) could not have been effected in England without the aid of all parties combined together by the strongest motives—love of country, and love of liberty. *The only persons in the whole country on whose co-operation the English Government could depend, were the bishops. All the Irish bishops, except two, professed to accept the Reformation, the clergy zealously opposed it.*"

Again, "the Irish bishops, before the Reformation, having employed their spiritual authority for political and anti-Irish purposes, had lost their legitimate influence in promoting the Reformation, and widened still further the breach between themselves and the clergy. The clergy, both secular and religious, were in frequent communication with the people. They shared all their feelings of patriotism, clanship, and attachment to the soil, as well as their hatred of the invaders. That the bishops should take the side of the English king was not to be wondered at. Many of them had been brought from England, where they had imbibed the principles of the Reformation, they owed their places, their honours, their wealth, to him. To him they owed and had sworn allegiance.

That the inferior clergy did not sympathise with the bishops in favouring the Reformation is evident from the proceedings of the Parliament, which was summoned in the reign of Henry VIII., for the purpose of abjuring the Papal Supremacy. It had been usual for two proctors to be returned from each diocese to represent the clergy. They succeeded in throwing out the Bill. The Lord Deputy wrote to England for instructions, complaining of "the forwardness and obstinacy of the Proctors of the clergy from the beginning of this Parliament;" whereupon peremptory orders were issued that the Proctors should from henceforth be excluded from the House, that they should have no voice, and that their assent should not be necessary to any Act."

Of Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, it is said—"He could not induce any of his clergy to follow his example." "Neither," he says, "by gentle exhortation, evangelical instruction, neither by oaths of them solemnly taken, nor yet by threats of sharp correction, can I persuade or induce any, either religious or secular, since my coming over, once to preach the Word of God or the just title of our most illustrious prince." "The Irish clergy, having no knowledge of the reformed doctrines, and having had such bitter experience of the fruits of Protestantism in Ireland, were not likely to aspire to preferment in the Protestant Church. Pronounced to be ineligible for the lowest places, they would not expect the highest."

Again the same writer adds, "And yet the bishops were the

only persons in the land on whose assistance English statesmen could rely in spreading the knowledge of the reformed doctrines. Even the strongest bishops were powerless. None of their clergy would follow them, and none of the native laity." "It is also true that the great body of the Irish clergy and laity professed to embrace the Protestant religion (meaning thereby the rejection of the Papal supremacy), and that for some years they, *under the pressure of the laws which imposed a fine for refusing to attend the Protestant Churches, were occasionally present during the performance of Divine service. But it is not true that the Irish people were ever Protestant* (in the proper sense of the word), or that, until the present century, THEY EVER KNEW OR COULD HAVE LEARNED, WHAT PROTESTANTISM WAS, AND WHEREIN IT DIFFERED FROM ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

The change from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism was regarded in the light of a conversion to another faith. "If this was the case in England, where the mass of the population of all classes embraced the Reformed faith, it was much more likely to occur in Ireland, where the *natives continued to be Roman Catholic*, and the higher and middle classes (generally speaking), that is, the *English and Scotch settlers and their descendants, were the only Protestants* who had embraced the Reformed faith intelligently and from conviction." *

Another Essayist writes : "In England the Royal supremacy triumphed over the Papal, and the monarch's authority over the national religion, as chief governor of the Church of England, became a settled principle in the Constitution." *In Ireland it was resisted with the whole force of the Irish race.* Zeal for Popery, combined with hatred of English rule to array the Irish clans in resistance to the dominion of England, and the Roman Catholic religion was the source of foreign aid and the centre of life and union to Irish rebellion, from the Reformation to the Revolution." †

It is then an indisputable fact, stated by unprejudiced historians, again and again affirmed in the strongest terms by able writers in defence of the Irish Establishment, *that the great body of the Irish clergy and people were at the time of the Reformation opposed to Protestantism.* What measures were employed to convert them? Coercive enactments and severe penalties. With what effect? Disgust and detestation with some measure of external conformity. What but this could be the effect? Look at some of the penalties :—

PENALTIES.

By 28 Henry VIII. : "All officers of every kind and degree

* Essays, pp. 178-184.

† Essays, p. 270.

were directed to take the Oath of Supremacy, and every person who should refuse it declared as in England to be guilty of high treason." *

The Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI. was never laid before Convocation but by Act of Parliament passed January, 1549, it was appointed to be used through the whole Kingdom, *under pain of six months' imprisonment and loss of a year's salary for the first fault; forfeiture of all preferments, and a year's imprisonment for the second; forfeiture of all goods and imprisonment for life for the third!*" †

Touching the King's Supremacy it was enacted by Edward VI., cap. 12, "If any person shall by open preaching, express words or sayings, affirm that the King is not, or ought not to be, the Supreme Lord on earth of the Church of England immediately under God, he, his aiders, comforters, abettors, and counsellors, shall *for the first offence forfeit his goods and be imprisoned during the King's pleasure; for the second offence shall forfeit his goods and the profits of his lands and spiritual promotions during his life, and also be imprisoned during his life; and for the third offence shall be guilty of high treason!*" ‡

These statutes were abolished in the reign of Queen Mary, but upon the accession of Elizabeth they were *re-enacted in very nearly the same form*. By 2 Elizabeth, c. 1, 2, 3, it was enacted in the Irish Parliament which assembled on 11th January, 1560, "that such as maintain the Pope's, or any foreign authority, shall for the first offence *lose all his goods, or be imprisoned for one year if he had not twenty pounds' worth of goods, and also lose his benefice if a clergyman; and should for the second offence incur a premunire; and for the third incur the pains of high treason!*"

In the same Parliament the use of the Prayer Book was enforced as in England. Every parson, vicar, or other minister, was required to use the Book of Common Prayer in the public services of the Church, and no other rite, ceremony, order, or form. Every clergyman, violating this law, was, "for the first offence, *to forfeit a year's stipend and be imprisoned six months; for the second offence, to be imprisoned a year and be deprived of all his spiritual promotions; and the patron might present to his living as if he were dead!*" || All the people were compelled to attend public worship, under pain of fine and spiritual censure.

What but disgust and detestation, with some measure of

* Leland, vol. ii., p. 163. Brown's History, vol. i, p. 363.

† Brown's History, p. 122.

‡ Burn, vol. iii., p. 658.

|| Leland, vol. ii., pp. 224-5. Brown, vol. i., pp. 864-6.
Essays on Church, pp. 95-97.

hollow external conformity, could be the effect of such measures? There is abundant evidence that these were the bitter fruits. Some proofs, which none can doubt or question, shall be given from a series of State Papers concerning the Irish Church in the time of Queen Elizabeth, recently edited by Dr. Maziere Brady, which the author has read since the foregoing was written. These papers, the originals of which—preserved some in Her Majesty's Record Office and others in the British Museum—were brought under the Editor's notice by Mr. Froude, the historian, supply irrefragable evidence of the accuracy of the view here given of the state of Ireland at the time of the Reformation, and of the mournful effects of the coercive measures then adopted.

Brady, Bishop of Meath, to Earl of Sussex, 1565, April, 4.

(Five years after the Establishment of Protestantism in Ireland.)

..... I have written to the Queen's Majesty, simply advertising the danger and misery of this state. I have done it dutifully. I pray God it be so taken. Greater trouble will shortly follow than I would be glad to see, unless it be advisedly prevented (p. 2).

Same to same, 1566, April 27.

..... But I hope your good nature, even of mere justice, will either name the accusers, together with the accusation (if any may be), or else receiving this my purgation bring me out of doubt, protesting before the Lord Jesus Christ, with the testimony of my conscience, you are the nobleman in the world I most honour, and whom, during my life, I will serve with all possible duty, requiring most humbly your good lordship will bring me out of doubt of your favour towards me (p. 4).

Same to Sir William Cecil, 1570, February 6.

..... The Baron Cusack, eldest son of Sir Thos. Cusack, having served in the room of second Baron, of long time, both painfully and faithfully, by all men's report, is the only man of his profession that favoureth religion in this land, and, therefore, in my opinion, the fitter for that room. The number of lawyers is great, and beareth no less sway. So are they for the most part, nay, I might say all, thwarters and hinderers of matters that should tend to the reformation of matters of religion. (p. 8).

Edward Waterhouse to Her Majesty's Secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, 1574, June 14.

..... I am bold to tell your honour what I hear of these things, because you must be the instrument to redress them. But whensoever any alteration shall happen, let all offices be given to soldiers of experience and to none others. I would the Queen would also so bestow her bishoprics, for here is scarce any sign of religion, nor no room for justice till the sword hath made a way for the law

Earl of Essex to Walsingham, 1575, May 9.

I cannot blame her Majesty, though she were weary of Ireland, and loath to be persuaded to do anything that sheweth difficulty, because it is certain her Highness hath spent £600,000 in her time here, and the realm never

the better. But, trust me, Sir, Reformation was never intended till now, as I think.

Sir Henry Sydney's Report of his "Progress" in Munster, 1576, January to April.

..... Munster was then in good "towardness" to be reformed; "but it never needed more a discreet and active Government there continually resident, for these people are, for the most part, all Papists, and that of the malicious degree." At the end of the account of his "progress," Sydney discourses on the Reformation of Ireland. He thus treats of the Church:—"The first head is the Church, now so spoiled (as well by the ruins of the Temples, as the dissipation and embezzling of the patrimony, and most of all for want of sufficient ministers), as so deformed and overthrown a Church, there is not, I am sure, in any region where Christ is professed, and preposterous it seemeth to me to begin reformation of the politic part, and neglect the religious.

Sir H. Sydney's Letter to the Queen, 1576, April 28.

..... And now, most dear mistress, and most honoured Sovereign, I solely address to you—as to the only sovereign salve—giver to this your sore and sick realm—the lamentable estate of the most noble and principal limb thereof; the Church, I mean, as foul, deformed, and as cruelly crushed as any part thereof—by your only gracious and religious order to be cured, or, at least, amended. I would not have believed, had I not for a great part viewed the same throughout the whole Realm, and was advertised of the particular estate of the Church in the bishopric of Meath (being the best inhabited country of all this realm) by the honest, zealous, and learned blshop of the same, Mr. Hugh Brady, a godly minister for the Gospel, and a good servant to your Highness, who went from church to church himself and found that there are within his diocese 224 parish churches, of which number 105 are impropriated to sundry possessions now of your Highness, and all leased out for years or in fee farm to several farmers; and great gain reaped out of them above the rent which your Majesty receiveth. No Parson or Vicar resident upon any of them, and a very simple or sorry curate, for the most part, appointed to serve thereon. Among which number of curates, only eighteen were found able to speak English—the rest Irish priests or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, less learning, and civility. All these live upon the bare alterages, as they term them (which God knoweth are very small), and were won't to live upon the gain of masses, dirges, shrivings, and such like trumpery, godly abolished by your Majesty. No one house standing for any of them to dwell in. In many places the very walls of the churches down, very few chancels covered, windows, and doors ruined or spoiled. There are 52 other parish churches more in the same diocese (of Meath) who have vicars endowed upon them—better served and maintained than the other, yet but badly. There are 52 parish churches more, residue of the first number of 224, which pertain to divers particular lords. And these, though in better estate than the rest, commonly are yet far from well. If this be the estate of the churches in the best peopled diocese, and best governed country of this your realm (as in truth it is), easy it is for your Majesty to conjecture in what case the rest is, where little or no Reformation, either of religion or manners, hath yet been planted and continued among them.

..... In choice of ministers for remote places where the English tongue is not understood, it is most necessary that such be chosen as can speak Irish. And [thus] in the meantime thousands would be gained to Christ that are now lost, or left at the worst.

I wish and humbly beseech your Majesty that there may be three or four

grave, learned, and venerable personages of the clergy, there, be sent hither, who in short space, being here, would sensibly perceive the enormities of this overthrown Church."

Lord Chancellor Gerrard to Walsingham, 1577, February 8.

If the Deputy can keep Ireland with a small garrison, it is well. But in my opinion—so writes the Irish Chancellor—if in ten years past the Government had been enabled to subject the whole Irishry to the sword—which manner of government, *if ever Ireland shall be thoroughly reformed*, must be practised—Ireland had been in other terms of wealth and obedience than it is this day.

Sir W. Durry, Lord President of Munster, to Walsingham, 1577, April 16.

Speaking of certain Papal prelates, he says "The first is called John White, who is worshipped like a god between Kilkenny and Waterford and Clonmel. He suborneth all the dwellers of those parts to detest the true religion established by her Majesty." The city of Waterford is "cankered in Popery." "Masses infinite they have in the several churches without any fear."

The same to the Privy Council in Dublin, 1578, March 24.

There have been, to my judgment, since my first entry into office [a year and nine months] about 400 executed by justice and martial law within this province [Munster].

Mr. Commissioner Garvey, 1579, January 2, states that some of the Queen's bishops employed Papal bishops to ordain priests for them; and that they sold livings to "horsemen," "boyes," "Kearne," "laymen," and other incapable persons.

Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice, to Walsingham, 1579, Dec. 7.

Some one of Her Majesty's farmers of parsonages inappropriate near this place, hath sixteen benefices in his hands, and amongst those not one vicar or minister maintained that can read English or understand Latin, or give any good instruction to his parishioners.

Marmaduke Middleton, Bishop of Waterford, to Walsingham, 1580, June 29.

Such is the miserable state of this wretched city [Waterford] that all things are done contrary to the sacred Word and blessed will of the Lord, and also her Majesty's most godly proceedings in causes spiritual. The Gospel of God utterly abhorred. The Church in time of Divine Service of all hands eschewed (*nisi a paucis et id forma tantum*). The sacraments condemned and refused. Massing in every corner. No burial of the dead according to the Book of Common Prayer.....

There is no difference betwixt the clergy and the layalty [laity] here, for they have joined together to prevent her Majesty's most godly proceedings. Of David Clerc, dean of Waterford, and suitor for the bishopric of Ferns, he says,—I know the man, his life, doctrine, and conversation (because he is dean in my church) better than some others. In religion he is but a hypocrite and by nature malicious. Neither a preacher, neither hath he sufficiency thereto.—An arguer, with that little knowledge he hath, against the truth. This man I hold an unfit bishop, yet so well friended—as none better in this world than the wicked—as, both his preferment shall be sought, and who shall withstand him shall hazard a displeasure. God knoweth we have too many such bishops in Ireland.

Sir Nicholas Maltby to Walsingham, 1580, September 7.

But my hap is worse of any man's in that I hear it is said I use the sword over severely. I am sorry I have spared it so much ; and, if it be not used more sharply than hitherto it has been, her Majesty is likely to lose both sword and realm. It is now a quarrel of religion, and the expectation of foreign aid doth much further it.

Lord Grey, Lord Lieutenant, in a private letter to the Queen, 1580, December 22, speaking of the Baron of Delvin's "obstinate affection to Popery" and its effects, says :—

Such is the yield of such seed, which would to God were not so plenty in this land. Your Majesty must be careful therefore to root it out, otherwise, without heap of care, men, and treasure, and continued wars, never account to sway this government.

The same to Walsingham, 1581, April 24.

I have followed man too much in it [the government], and this is the cause that neither the chief can hearken to that concerns both honour and safety most, nor you that persuade the truth be believed, nor I that desire the right can be satisfied. But Baal's prophets and councillors shall prevail. I see it is so. I see it is just. I see it is past help. I rest despaired. Help me away again for God's sake.

Andrew Trollope, an English lawyer, to Walsingham, 1581, Sept. 12, says, on meeting with an Irish lawyer :—

I fed his humour as much as I might and thereby learnt of him the miserable state of Ireland, and that all the judges of the law, her Majesty's chancellor, and barons of the Exchequer, and counsel learned, and such as execute inferior offices (with few exceptions) were all Irishmen and Papists, as all Irishmen be.

W. Johnes to Walsingham, 1584, July 14.

There are here, even in that part of the country which should be best reformed, so many churches fallen down ; so many children dispensed withall to enjoy the livings of the Church ; so many laymen (as they are commonly termed) suffered to hold benefices ; so many clergymen tolerated to have the profits of three or more pastoral dignities, who, being themselves unlearned, are not meet men (though they were willing) to teach and instruct others—as, whoso beholdeth this miserable confusion and disorder and hath any zeal of God in his heart, must not choose, but make the same known, especially unto such as bestow their whole care and travail to reform these enormities, and would, no doubt, be glad to see those decays and ruins of religion built up again.

The Prebendaries of St. Patrick's, Dublin, to the Lords of the Council, in England, Dec., 1584.

There is an infinite number of impropriate Churches in Ireland, all being in her Majesty's hands and her farmers. There is not in any one impropriation a preacher. There is scant a minister to be found among them, but rather a company of Irish rogues and Romish priests, teaching nothing but traitorous practices—all in a manner enemies by profession to God's true religion.

This cometh chiefly by the wantonness of her Majesty's farmers, who for the most part allow not the minister above 40s. or £3 by the year, and therefore seeketh a priest that will serve his cure cheapest, without regard to the person or quality, and then this curate, to make his stipend as he may live upon, travelleth, like a lackey, to three or four churches in a morning—every church

a mile or two miles asunder—and there once a week *readeth them only a Gospel in Latin*, and so away—and so the poor people are deluded.

Archbishop Loftus to Burghley, 1585, March 18.

Then my lord behold the state of this wretched country. In all the whole realm there is not one preacher (three bishops excepted) of whom two were prepared out of this church [of St. Patrick's] but only in St. Patrick's.

Archbishop of Armagh to Walsingham, 1585, June 4.

And I assure your honour if we used not the people more for *gain* than for *conscience*, here would the Lord's work be mightily preferred."

The same to the same, 1585, July 8.

It is a hard thing to be thought of that the land is not able to afford, of the birth of the land, forty christians which have the taste of the true service of God, and how then can they be true hearted to her Majesty?

Sir H. Wallop to Walsingham, 1586, January 6.

I doubt not but your honour hath been advertised of the villanous murder of the good bishop of Ossory, committed upon him by one James Dullerde. He was the only man of his coat, that ever I knew born in this country, that did most sincerely know and teach the Gospel.

Andrew Trollope to Walsingham, 1587, October 26.

I have herein, without art or method, briefly bewrayed such things as I find amiss in this realm, and decyphered the causes thereof. As first :—There is no divine service in the country; that all the churches in the country are clean down, ruinous, and in great decay; and in those in cities and in walled towns is over seldom any service said, and yet that negligently repaired unto. Here are also above thirty bishopricks and not seven bishops able to preach; and yet those which be, by making of long leases, reserving small rents, and sundry sinister devices, so much impair their sees as, if they be suffered, all the bishopricks in Ireland within few years will not yield sufficient maintenance for one man worthy of this calling. The ordinaries and patrons here have so ordered the matter as most ministers are stipendiary men, and few have £5 a year to live on—the most not above 53s. 4d. In truth such they are as deserve not living or to live. For they will not be accounted Ministers, but Priests. They will have no wives. If they would stay there it were well, but they will have harlots, which they make believe that it is no sin to live and lie with them and bear them children. But if they marry them they are damned. And with long experience and some extraordinary trial of these fellows, I cannot find whether the most of them love lewd women, cards, dice, or drink best. And when they must of necessity go to church they carry with them a book, in Latin, of the Common Prayer, set forth and allowed by her Majesty. But they read little or nothing of it, or can well read; but they tell the people a tale of our lady, or St. Patrick, or some other saint, horrible to be spoken or heard, and intolerable to be suffered; and do all they may to dissuade and allure the people from God and their prince and their due obedience to them both, and persuade them to the Devil and the Pope. And sure the people so much hear them, believe them, and are led by them, and have so little instruction to the contrary, as here is, in effect, a general revolt from God and true religion, our prince and her Highness's laws. Here are many most unmeet men bishops, deans, archdeacons, and chancellors, treasurers of churches, and such like spiritual officers, as some Papists, yea some reconciled to the Pope.

Such according to eye witnesses, who were friends to the institution, were the effects of the Civil Establishment of Protestantism during the first twenty years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

CHAPTER V.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH AFTER THE REFORMATION.

THE NATIVE MINISTRY DISCOURAGED AND DISGRACED—THE PEOPLE LEFT IN HELPLESS IGNORANCE OF SCRIPTURE AND PROTESTANT TRUTH—MANY UNFIT MEN APPOINTED TO OFFICE.

III.—That the Establishment of the Church in Ireland has been injurious to her spiritual life, an obstacle to her success, and therefore detrimental to religion.

2. In consequence of the political connection of the Church with the State, the native ministry and language were discouraged and disgraced.

Speaking of those whom the revival of the English power in Ireland, in the time of Queen Elizabeth had tempted to that country, Leland says, "The natives were provoked at the partiality shewn to these insolent adventurers: they were treated like aliens and enemies (as the annalist of Elizabeth repeatedly observes) and excluded with contemptuous insolence from every office of trust and honour; it is therefore natural to find them not always zealously affected to the administration of government."*

Upon this subject the Rev. William Anderson says, "*Political motives prevented the employment of the Irish language in the services of religion, and thereby made it impossible to convert the native Irish to Protestantism.*" Nothing could be more absurd than to ask a man to give up the religion of his fathers because it was inconsistent with Scripture, without at the same time giving him the means of judging for himself of this inconsistency.

"*The attempt to convert the native Irish to a reasonable faith without giving them any reason for the change, met the fate it deserved.*"

"For the success of the Protestant religion in Ireland it was a most unhappy coincidence that political changes vitally affecting all ranks of the native Irish were introduced along with the Reformation, and that the laws of England were not extended to all the inhabitants of both races till after the Reformation. Had these laws been explained to the people and administered in their own language, the new system would have supplanted the old, and all parties would have willingly acknowledged their justice. But what was to be done? They could not be employed except in Irish. How could the Irish tongue be employed without being encouraged,

and strengthened, and perpetuated? Thus the very purpose for which the new laws were introduced, to unite together the English and Irish races into one nation, would be defeated. Precisely the same difficulties met the Churchman in his efforts to promote the Protestant religion. If the Irish language was not to be employed in the administration of justice, how could it be employed in the offices of religion? *The rulers of the State, who were also the rulers of the Church*, with the history of three centuries teaching them that no legislation could prevent the degradation of the English colonists through their adopting the Irish language, took the course which (though it proved to be the most disastrous) appeared at that time to be the wisest. They legislated for the interest of the colonists and not of the natives.”*

Again :—“*Political motives* having prevented the employment of the Irish language by the Irish Church in public worship, or through the private circulation of the Scriptures, the only hope of Protestantism in Ireland lay in the immigrants from England and Scotland.”†

To these testimonies we may add the words of that most earnest defender of the Irish establishment, Dean Murray. “An Act passed in the 28th year of the reign of Henry VIII., chap. 15, entitled an Act for the English order, habit, and language, was the first heavy blow which the Reformed Church received; that Act directed that the Irish habit and apparel should be abolished, and the peculiar form in which the Irish wore their hair should be discontinued.

It further provided, that spiritual promotion should be given only to such persons as could speak the *English* language, unless, after four proclamations in the next market town, no such could be had.

And again, in an Act of Uniformity, passed by Queen Elizabeth, the preamble runs thus :—“Forasmuch as in most places of this realm there cannot be found English ministers to serve in the Churches or places appointed for common prayer; and that if some good means were provided, that they might use the prayers, &c., in such language as they might *best understand*, the due honor of God should be thereby much advanced, and for that also, *that the same may not be in their native language*, as well from difficulty to get it printed, as that few in the whole realm can read the Irish letters; We do, therefore, most humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enabled by the authority of the present Parliament, that in every such Church, where the common minister hath not the use of the English tongue, it shall be lawful to say or use all their

* Pages 185, 190, and 191.

† Page 194.

common and open prayers in the *Latin* tongue ;” which was accordingly enacted by the statute II. Elizabeth, cap. XV., anno. 1559-60.

Had the great enemy of truth been the concoctor and passer of these Parliamentary and royal enactments, no surer method could have been devised to arrest at once the progress of the Reformation in a country whose prejudices, feelings, and best interests were thus alike insulted. The interfering with non-essential customs, which long habit had made a second nature, would of itself have unsheathed the sword of resistance, in the hands of a half-civilized and enthusiastic people.”*

3. The people were left in helpless ignorance of Scripture and of Protestant truth, through the adverse influence of a Protestant Establishment.

Leland says, “As to the inferior orders of men, no measures appear to have been taken from the first beginnings of the Reformation to enlighten their ignorance or correct their prejudices.” “Hard it is (saith a chancellor of Ireland in this reign of Edward the Sixth) that men should know their duties to God and to the King when they shall not hear teaching or preaching throughout the year.” “At a time when the mechanics in England could hear and convey instruction, and were habituated to religious inquiry, the same minister complains, that in Ireland preaching we have none, which is our lack, without which the ignorant can have no knowledge.”

He goes on to say that within the English pale the Irish language was much spoken, but “In those tracts of Irish territory which intersected the English settlements, *no other language was at all known*. So that here the wretched flock was totally *inaccessible to those strangers who were become their nominal pastors*. The laws made in the late reign to correct these inconveniences, even if duly obeyed, required some considerable interval to operate with any effect. In the mean time, the partizans of Rome found a ready admission into those districts where the Reformed clergy, if such there were, could neither be regarded nor understood. They spoke to their countrymen and kinsmen in their own language, and were heard with attention, favour, and affection. If we look to those parts of Ireland more remote from the seat of English government the prospect still appears more gloomy. Here, many of the prelates continued to be nominated by the Pope, and enjoyed their sees by his provision, in defiance of the crown of England ; others, though appointed by the King, had yet a rival sent from Rome to contend with. The people removed beyond the sphere of English law had not known, or not regarded, the ordi-

* Murray Irish Church, p. 224.

nances lately made with respect to religion, nor considered themselves as interested or concerned in any regulations hereafter to be made. The only instance in which they conceived themselves bound to the English government, even in the present revival of its power and consequence, was that of not rising in arms and invading the King's subjects ; and that authority which had not as yet reduced them within the bounds of civility could not, without the imputation of extravagance, attempt to model their religious sentiments."*

In addition it will suffice upon this point to quote the testimony of two earnest defenders of the Established Church in Ireland—that of the Rev. Wm. Anderson, and then the strong expressive language of the Very Rev. Richard Murray, D.D., Dean of Armagh :—

"To punish the whole body of the Irish clergy still further it was enacted that the native Irish-speaking priests should from this time be ineligible to benefices in the Irish Church, unless, after four proclamations in the next market town, no Englishman could be had. This was the first acquaintance of the Irish clergy with the Protestant religion. In this way the Protestant religion was introduced to the men who were expected to be its future ministers in a country where there was not a single condition favourable to its reception. Irish Protestantism commenced by excluding the representatives of the inferior clergy from Parliament, and by declaring the whole body of the native clergy to be ineligible for promotion in their own Church. The most worthless English-speaking priest was to be preferred to the man of the highest character who spoke only the language of his country. The inevitable result of this policy was to alienate the whole body of the Irish clergy from the Reformation, and to unite them as one man in defence of the Romish Church."†

"But, as if this were not enough, every avenue of light and knowledge, *under the withering statute book of England*, was at once closed up by their being deprived of instruction in their *native language*, and either the hateful English or the equally unintelligible *Latin* being substituted in its place.

Can we suppose anything less than judicial blindness to have promoted measures calculated at once to exasperate prejudice, and to involve in midnight darkness, a people wedded to their own customs, and fond, to excess, of their own language? One generation of professing, but, alas, uninstructed, Protestants passed away, and another succeeded, brought up, if possible, in a state of greater ignorance and spiritual destitution than their Romish fore-

* Leland, Vol. ii., 193-4.

† Essays, 181.

fathers, deprived of all means of grace, and stung to the quick by the dishonor cast upon their national dress and language.

Can we then wonder at the effects produced? Effects which England too justly feels the bitterness of, even at the present day. For, so far in the history, the iron hand of power had been stretched forth, unfurling proclamations, as subversive of the true principles of policy as they were of the true principles of the Reformation." "The Acts of Henry and Elizabeth, now brought before us, enforcing again almost all the baneful clauses of this statute,* have left so vivid an impression on the minds of the Irish that I fear it will never be effaced till that country be really brought into subjection to the Crown of England, or, what would be still better, brought under the influence of the Gospel of Christ."†

4. Through the intimate connection of the Church with political affairs many most unfit men were appointed to office.

The Rev. W. Anderson writes—"The most worthless English-speaking priest was to be preferred to the man of highest character, who spoke only the language of his country. The inevitable result of that policy was to alienate the whole body of the Irish clergy from the Reformation, and to unite them as one man in defence of the Romish Church."

Again, "Some of the Irish clergy (who, probably, in default of better men) were elevated to the highest places in the Irish Church, were traitors in disguise. A bishop of Derry died in the habit of a Franciscan prior. In 1611 the bishop of Elphin died professing the Roman Catholic faith; and in 1622 the bishop of Cashel, who had governed that see for fifty-two years, to the great scandal and injury of the Church, openly confessed that he was, and had been a Roman Catholic."‡

What Archbishop Laud and the Deputy Wentworth thought of some of the Prelates in their time may be seen by a brief extract from their correspondence. Laud, speaking of the plunder practised in the Irish Church, writes—"Nor can I answer what became of the Primate and the rest of the bishops, while the poor inferior clergy were thus oppressed—more than this, that I ever thought it was not in their power to help it; but if it shall appear to you otherwise, and if any of them be as bad, for the oppression of the Church, as any layman, great pity it is, but some one or other of the chief offenders should be made a public example and turned out of his bishopric; such a course once held would do more good in Ireland than anything that hath been done there this

* The Statute of Kilkenny, passed in 1369, which the writer speaks of as the crowning sin of the Anglo-Popish aristocracy.

† Pp. 225-6.

‡ King's Ch. Hist., p. 1223.

forty years." That it did "appear otherwise" to Wentworth is evident from his thus expressing himself :—"Nothing new here, except that I have, in the case of the bishop of Killala, adjudged, and given him possession of as much land, usurped from the See, as is worth at least £100 per annum. I have sent for the Archbishop of Cashel, but his grace returns he is 'ill of the sciatica, and not able to travel ;' likes not, I believe, to come to a reckoning, but I have writ his answer. In good faith, my lord, his grace has beguiled me, and keeps his sixteen vicarages still, but I will roundly prepare him for a purge as soon as I see him."

Mark the following language used by the Bishop of Oxford, in the House of Lords, June 29, 1868 :—"There is one argument used against the Church of Ireland upon which I wish to say one word. It is said that one of the first duties of the Church was to convert the Roman Catholics, and in that duty it has failed. Now no living man would rejoice more than I should do if they had succeeded in that object. But you must allot the blame—and if you do not allot the blame what right have you to allot the punishment—you must allot the blame where it mainly falls ; and I say that it is mainly the fault of the Church and the State of England. I believe that the reason, the great and master reason, of the failure of the Church to do her work is because the Church was *made the worst and meanest instrument of English misrule* ; and that it was not anything internal in the Church herself. If you refer to the writings of Archbishop Boulter, or to the poetical and perhaps exaggerated statements of Spencer, or if you come down to the never exaggerated impressions conveyed by one who seemed almost incapable of a poetical feeling, if you refer to the writings of Dean Swift, you have the same melancholy account of the condition of the Church. Dean Swift says that the English government was always careful to select the best Clergymen for Irish bishops. There could be no doubt of that. But when the pious man now set out in his chariot to reach the sea coast he had to pass over Hounslow Heath, where he was robbed and murdered, and the captain of the highwaymen put on his small clothes and came over to Ireland as the bishop, and so it happened that, with the best intentions on the part of the English government, they always got a highwayman for their bishop. (Great laughter and cheering.) NOW THIS WAS NOT AN OVERDRAWN STATEMENT, AND THE CONDITION OF THE CHURCH WAS SUCH THAT IT MIGHT BE SAID TO BE THE RULE AND NOT THE EXCEPTION. Then the penal laws—did the Irish Church pass the penal laws ? There was the Act forbidding to teach the natives to read—did the Church of Ireland pass that law ? No, the Irish Church was sent there manacled, to do the work of an apostle ; and now that she is rousing herself to do her

work you turn round upon her and say that for the ills inflicted by your forefathers she shall suffer dis-establishment." No, we say, set her free, knock off the manacles—let her be no longer under those who "as a rule" have appointed highwaymen as bishops; no longer allow her to be "made the worst and meanest instrument of English misrule."

CHAPTER VI.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH AFTER THE REFORMATION.

MEASURES OF USEFULNESS NEGLECTED OR REJECTED—THE MOURNFUL EFFECTS OF POLITICAL CONNEXIONS.

III.—That the Establishment of the Church in Ireland has been injurious to her spiritual life, an obstacle to her success, and, therefore, detrimental to religion.

5. Obvious measures of usefulness were neglected, or when proposed, rejected.

We mention only one illustration of this, and that in the very terms in which it has been put by a defender of the Irish Church. "In the year 1711, when the fruits of a whole century's neglect of the Irish tongue had shown that without employing it there was no hope of converting the native Irish to the Protestant religion, the Upper House of Convocation was summoned for the *express purpose of adopting the most effectual method of converting the native Irish*. The royal licence was granted to the prayer of a memorial that Bibles, Prayer-books, and other religious publications, should be printed in the Irish tongue, and distributed among the native population. *The Upper House of Convocation refused the required sanction, and was dissolved.*" Remember that this Upper House of Convocation consisted of the prelates of the Irish Protestant Church, that they were asked to sanction the only means by which the Irish people could be instructed in Protestant truth, that they met in solemn assembly to consider whether they would do what the Church would have done 150 years before but for its political connections, and they refused. How speaks Archbishop King of this? In anticipation of this result he wrote :—"We shall, I believe, have some considerations of methods to convert the natives ; but I do not think it is desired by all that they should be converted. It is plain to me by the methods that have been taken since the Reformation, and which are yet pursued by *both the civil and ecclesiastical powers*, that there never was, nor is, any design that all should be Protestants." Mark these words—they apply to the whole period from the Reformation to 1711, that is, if you date from the Parliament of Elizabeth, a period of 150 years ; if from the Irish Parliament of Henry VIII., 175 years :—"There never was nor is any design that all should be Protestants." "This is plain by the methods that have been taken since the Re

formation, and which are yet pursued." By whom? Who is responsible? "Both the civil and ecclesiastical powers" These statements are made under the authority of one of Ireland's noblest bishops.*

The Rev. James Byrne, writing of the same period, says :—
 "During all that long period of alternate rebellion and confiscation which extended nearly from the accession of Elizabeth till the taking of Limerick in 1691, the Irish Reformed Church was separated from the native Irish by an impassable chasm caused by difference of language and civil convulsion. Nor was it only the hostility of the Irish which impeded her efforts. *The guardians of English power in Ireland also discouraged her attempts to undertake the great work which always invited her Christian zeal.* Bedell's enlightened labours were discountenanced by Laud and Strafford, who in that zeal for authority and that hatred of the free action of thought and piety which were engendered by the struggle with the Puritans, looked with disfavour on his efforts to appeal to the thought and piety of the Irish through their own language."†

Is it not plain that on account of political connections and influences, the Church refused even to attempt to carry out the great work which Christ entrusted to her?

6. In what has been already said, it seems very evident that the great and glaring sins and shortcomings of the Irish Church—a few of which have been here mentioned—are attributable to her connection with the civil government; that, in short, the Establishment of the Church has been her greatest calamity. But as this is a vital point, upon which everything in this discussion hangs, a few more testimonies directly bearing upon it shall here be given.

The Rev. W. Anderson writes, "When it was determined to regard the Irish Church rather as an institution for introducing civilization into a semi-barbarous country, *than for converting the native Irish to the Protestant religion*, there was a confident expectation that the example of the colonists, to whom this higher standard of living was habitual, would be the most effectual means of winning over the native Irish to imitate their industry and frugality. The experiment was not successful. It was not the least of the many evils which her association with higher social position and a better standard of living inflicted on the Church, that she became the chief object of the jealousy and discontent which these advantages were sure to provoke." Again, "Of the two aspects under which the Irish Church presented itself to the English statesmen

* Mant's History of the Irish Church, ii., p. 224.

See also Rev. A. W. Edwards' Essays on Irish Church, 121.

† Essays, p. 281.

who took upon them to control and direct its action in Ireland, as an instrument for converting the Roman Catholics through the Irish language ; or for civilizing them through the English settlers, and preventing these settlers themselves from degenerating, and so becoming estranged from the English interest,—we have seen that *the political seemed more important than the religious. Not even the hope of converting the native Irish to Protestantism could overcome their dread of encouraging the Irish tongue.* “It was the inevitable result of this determination that the class of which the Church was composed must, so long as this social distinction continued, be numerically inferior to the rest of the population. After the Reformation, we hear no more of the degeneracy of English colonists. The tendency was no doubt checked ; it was not eradicated nor overcome. All its hurtful influence was henceforth spent on the Church itself, and where we had formerly degeneracy from civilization, we shall have perversions from Protestantism.” *

“To all this jealousy and ill-will the Irish Church has been constantly exposed. It was the Church of the Government, of the highest officers of the Crown, of the courts of law, and of the nobility and gentry. The Irish Church was regarded as the institution which would present to the native population the most perfect illustration of the benefits of English civilization. The territorial dignity and social position of the clergy were chiefly regarded as the means of presenting to the country these benefits. In other parts of the world, as well as in Ireland, the higher standard of comfort enjoyed by Protestants has been observed. Nowhere else has this distinction been exalted into so great a prominence as in Ireland by the political antecedents of the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches respectively, as well as by the original differences of race.”

“To the Church in Ireland the association with higher comfort was unfortunate, as directing against her the largest share of that floating discontent which must always exist in such a country as Ireland. Those very qualifications which rendered her most useful to England politically, and to Ireland socially and economically, have seriously hindered her in the DISCHARGE OF HER PROPER FUNCTION. They have also impaired her strength, and made it unfair, as well as ungenerous, to judge of her efficiency by a numerical standard. They have, of necessity, kept her numbers considerably below the numbers of those who were less prudent and less industrious, and have stirred up against her the enmity of the Celtic population : first on account of her loyalty to England

* Essays, p. 202.

and secondly on account of the higher comforts and more industrious habits of the people." . . .

"But the injury inflicted on the Irish Church by the penal laws was greater than all the other evils against which she had to contend, and has been the most lasting in its effects, *not only in leading her to depend on them entirely to the exclusion of her own labours*, and in seeming to justify the government of the day in applying the revenues of the Church for purposes of POLITICAL CORRUPTION, to the utter neglect of the spiritual wants of the Church (so as frequently to leave dioceses without bishops, bishops without clergy, and clergy without churches), but also in enlisting against her the sentiments of patriotism and independence, and making it a point of honour with the Roman Catholic population not to enter her fold. Distinguished Roman Catholic writers have acknowledged that these laws, though professedly framed in the interests of the Irish Church, *were designed for political and not religious objects*."*

What does this amount to but a strong statement of the fact that a close union of the Church with the State, and her subjection to political powers, has "seriously hindered her in the discharge of her proper functions," has tempted her to sloth and dependance upon penal enactments, and brought upon her the scandals of corruption and cruelty—has, in short, been her greatest calamity?

Dr. Lee, who has written so much in defence of the Irish Church, says :—"During the eighteenth century the Irish Church suffered much from being made an *instrument of government in Ireland, by England*. If we read the letters of Primate Boulter we shall find that the great object sought for in making episcopal and other dignified appointments during his Primacy was the promotion of the *English interest* in Ireland; and thus, whilst politically the bishops might be good enough and always ready to vote on the right side, they were too often men who brought no credit on the sacred office they held, no benefit to the Church which they professed to serve. This was another hinderance, and no slight one to the progress of the Church in Ireland, for the evil effects of episcopal negligence or inefficiency (apart from their pernicious effects on the laity, which are always great) reach down to the humblest curate of the diocese over which the bishop presides, and if the bishop be seen to be negligent of his duties, the rectors and curates, with few exceptions, will not be slow to follow his example."†

The Rev. James Byrne, speaking of the still continued fears

* Essays, pp. 202-7-9-10.

† Essays, pp. 285-6.

concerning the use of the Irish language in the early part of the 18th century, writes :—"Such fears had been excited by Bedell's proceedings, and had afterwards raised an opposition to Boyle's publication of the Irish Bible ; but they now were more easily aroused on account of the recent troubles. It was apprehended that the religious instruction of the Irish in their own language would keep up the continued use of that language, which was the great bond and screen of rebellion. Such intercourse with them was considered also to be contrary to all the traditions of English Government, whose constant aim, in statutes still in force, had been to keep the English colonists from using the Irish language, lest they should degenerate into Irish enemies. And the violent struggle with the Irish, *and the vindictive legislation towards them which followed*, had indisposed the minds of the governing classes for any effort to improve their religious condition. Such an effort cannot be made without real sympathy in thought and feeling with those to whom it is directed, and this was quite inconsistent with the feelings which had been engendered by protracted warfare and subsequent oppression. The Irish Church seems to have been *held back by such influences as these from following her own impulses*, and to have been hindered by the suspicion and dis-union of the country *from adopting the only means by which at the time the Roman Catholics could be reached*. The great work of bringing the faith of the Reformed Church into contact with the Irish people whom it had never reached *seems to have been finally abandoned under the influence of Primate Boulter*, whose first object was to secure the English interest in Ireland ; and *thus political circumstances hindered the missionary action of the Church and diverted her energy from missionary enterprise*."*

Dean Murray, speaking of the relapse of the Irish people to Romanism, says :—"But candour obliges us to acknowledge that all their efforts (the Jesuits) thus aided and supported (by Rome and Spain) would have fallen powerless before the power of truth and the armour of righteousness, had not the wretched policy of England fatally combined with the plans of her enemies to arrest the progress of the Reformation." And the prelates of the Church were the prime advocates and instruments of this policy.

Can any man hesitate to admit that the Establishment of the Church in Ireland has been her greatest calamity ?

The causes which have been here referred to continued to produce their disastrous results throughout the latter part of the 16th, and the whole of the 17th and 18th centuries, in scenes of oppression, of discontent, and of moral desolation. We quote only two testimonies out of many :—

* Essays, 282-3.

Statement of Wentworth, the Deputy, to Archbishop Laud.

"The best entrance to the cure will be clearly to discover the state of the patient, which I find many ways distempered. *An unlearned Clergy*, which have not so much as the outward form of Churchmen; *the Churches unbuilt*; the parsonage and vicarage houses utterly ruined; the people untaught, through the non-residency of the Clergy, occasioned by the unlimited shameful number of spiritual promotions with cure of souls; the rites and ceremonies of the Church run over without all decency of habit, order, or gravity; the possessions of the Church, *to a great proportion*, in lay hands; the Bishops aliening their very principal houses and demesnes to their children, and to strangers; the schools either ill-provided, ill-governed, or, what is worse, *applied underhand to the maintenance of Popish schoolmasters*, &c. Here are divers of the Clergy whose wives and children are recusants, and there the Church goes most lamentably to wreck, and hath suffered extremely under the wicked alienations of this sort of pastors."*

"The close of the seventeenth and the commencement of the eighteenth centuries were signalized by the enactment of many stringent laws against Roman Catholics, which entailed on them great hardships and disabilities. All Romish bishops and other ecclesiastical authorities, and all monks and other regulars were ordered to leave the kingdom; all monasteries were suppressed, and all intermarriages with Protestants rendered penal. No Papist was permitted to hold landed property, to carry arms, or to practice as solicitor."†

A description of the state of things under the House of Hanover is given in the Historical Sketch by Rev. A. W. Edwards, M.A. :—

"The death of Queen Anne, in 1714, made way for the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty in the person of George I. For some time previously an impression had prevailed that the Queen was favourable to the succession of the deposed family, and hopes were confidently expressed by the Jacobites, both in England and Ireland, that this would now be accomplished. Considerable anxiety was consequently felt by the supporters of the new dynasty; and a more watchful jealousy than ever was exhibited towards those who were in any way suspected of antagonism, or even lukewarmness to the English government. To oppose or disapprove of any measure emanating from it, was sufficient proof of disloyalty to make the offender an object of distrust, and to exclude him from

* Wentworth's State Letters, Vol. i., p. 187.

† Essays, p. 119.

all favour and preferment. This narrow and suspicious policy was for many years productive of the worst effects on the Irish Church. Promotion was henceforward to be looked for as the reward, not of professional merit, but of political usefulness or compliance. Clergymen were sent over from England to fill the highest offices in the Church of Ireland for the advancement, not of religion, but of "the English interest;" and an Irish preferment became too often the recompense of one whose promotion would not be tolerated in England. It was, moreover, at that period, customary to send a new Chief Governor to Ireland, on an average, every three or four years. Each of these Governors was sure to bring with him an English chaplain. Each of these chaplains was equally sure to claim, and to receive, the first Irish bishoprick that happened to fall vacant; and scarcely less sure, when he had obtained it, to bring over some two or three English friends or relatives to place in Irish benefices in his gift. Such wholesale importations were of course viewed with indignation by the native clergy; and soon resulted in the establishment of what had so often before, and in so many different forms, been evoked—an English and an Irish party in the Church, mutually jealous of each other, and therefore incapable of united or harmonious action. Another evil connected with this system was, that those who were thus placed in posts of authority and responsibility, being in general strangers to Irish habits, feelings, and character, as well as to the peculiar circumstances of the country, were (though in many cases sincere, zealous, and able) but little calculated to attract to themselves the confidence of the clergy, or to forward the work of evangelization among the people."*

And what was the state of things up to the year 1834? I will not attempt to describe it; but if the reader will carefully look over the following tabular statements, which I have myself copied from the Parliamentary returns, he will see some indications of the Irish Church after Protestantism had been established more than 270 years.

The first is a Statement of Income :—

				Gross Income.			Net Income.		
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Sees	...	...	...	151,127	12	4	128,808	8	3
Glebe lands	...	...	...	92,000	0	0	81,972	0	0
Ministers money	...	...	...	10,300	0	0	9,270	0	0
Tithe composition	...	...	...	531,782	0	0	505,092	18	0
Other income from rents, &c., to Dignataries, &c.	...	...	...	7,500	0	0	7,125	0	0
				<hr/>			<hr/>		
Total of Ecclesiastical sole Corporations	...	...	...	792,709	12	4	732,368	6	3
Corporations Aggregate.									
Incomes belonging to Deans and Chapters, and divisible amongst the members thereof as a common estate	...	...	...	1,042	11	3	928	0	2
From economy estates	...	...	...	11,055	14	7	10,552	18	11
From estates of minor Canons, Vicars, Choral, &c.	...	...	...	10,525	19	5	9,999	13	6
				<hr/>			<hr/>		
Total	...	...	...	£815,333	17	9	£753,848	18	10

“Parliamentary return ; a calculation of the Incomes of Archbishops, Bishops, Dignitaries, and Parochial Clergy of Ireland, before the Church Temporalities Act, &c.

31 July, 1835.

MR. F. BARING.”

From this it will be seen that the gross income was £815,333 17s. 9d. ; the net income, after deductions for collecting, &c., £753,848 18s. 10d.

NUMBER OF BENEFICES IN WHICH THE ENTIRE POPULATION IS

	More than 100, and not more than 200.	More than 200, and not more than 500.	More than 500, and not more than 1,000.	More than 1,000, and not more than 3,000.	More than 3,000, and not more than 5,000.	More than 5,000, and not more than 10,000.	More than 10,000, and not more than 15,000.	More than 15,000, and not more than 20,000.	More than 20,000, and not more than 30,000.	More than 30,000.
5	7	36	94	368	277	405	125	39	21	8

NUMBER OF BENEFICES IN WHICH THERE

	Is no member of the Established Church.	Is 1 and not more than 20.	Are more than 20 and not more than 50.	More than 50 and not more than 100.	More than 100 and not more than 200.	More than 200 and not more than 500.	More than 500 and not more than 1,000.	More than 1,000 and not more than 2,000.	More than 2,000 and not more than 5,000.	More than 5,000.
41	99	124	160	224	286	209	139	91	12	

Public Instruction in Ireland. First Report, page 45. 1833-5.

It will be seen that there were in Ireland 1,385 *Benefices*, of which, as appears in the next table, 478 consisted of unions of two or more parishes. Of these benefices there were only 142 with a population under 1,000, but there were as many as 424 with less than 100 persons connected with the Established Church, and 41 without a single attendant. Of benefices with populations of above 1,000 there were 282 with less than 100 adherents. There were 1,243 benefices with more than 1,000 people; there were only 961 with more than 100 Anglicans.

NUMBER OF PLACES OF WORSHIP.					PARISHES OR DISTRICTS.		
Established Church.		Roman Catholic.	Presbyterian.	Other Protestant Dissenters.	Totals.	With Provision for Cure of Souls.	Without Provision for Cure of Souls.
Churches	Other Places of Worship.						
1338	190	2105	452	403	4494	2348	57
							3030

NUMBER OF BENEFICES.

Consisting of Single Parishes, 907.	Being unions of two or more Parishes, 478.		Total. 1,385.	In which there are not contiguous, 87.	In which Incumbent is non-resident, and no Divine Service is performed by him or by a Curate in a place of worship, 157.
	Only one Church, 1,057.	In which there is no Church, 210.			
In which more than one Church, 118.			With Glebe House, 850.	No Glebe House, 535.	

Public Instruction in Ireland. First Report, page 45. 1833-5.

Here out of 1,385 benefices there were 210 in which there was no Church; there were 500 all but 4 in which the incumbent was non-resident; in 339 of these service was performed either by the incumbent or by a curate; in 157 there was no service at all! In considerably more than one-third of the whole the incumbent was non-resident; and in one out of every 8½ benefices throughout Ireland the incumbent received the stipend but there was no Divine service!

REVENUES OF DIGNATARIES, &c.

Dioceses.	Dignitaries.	Prebendaries.	Total.				Number of other offices held by the Deans & Chapters.			
				£	s.	d.	Dignities.	Prebends.	Benefices.	Other offices.
Armagh ...	3	4	9	13017	7	8	4	1	6	—
Clogher ...	4	5	9	7180	13	9	—	2	4	—
Down ...	5	2	7	6248	19	11	1	1	6	—
Connor ...	5	4	9	5755	13	3	—	2	9	—
Dromore ...	5	1	6	5953	17	5	—	—	—	—
Derry ...	2	3	5	8040	4	2	1	3	5	1
Raphoe ...	2	4	6	5003	13	8	1	2	6	—
Dublin, Christ Ch....	4	3	7	7216	1	11½	7	4	16	1
Dublin, St. Patrick's	6	20	26	11690	0	0	8	16	54	2
Kildare ...	4	4	8	161	17	11	5	1	25	6*
Ferns ...	5	10	15	9419	17	10	—	4	12	—
Leighlin ...	5	4	9	2552	17	2	2	4	17	—
Ossory ...	5	7	12	6224	2	7	4	8	34	2
Cashel ...	5	5	10	6301	0	11	5	3	18	—
Emly ...	4	4	8	4574	10	6½	3	3	19	—
Waterford ...	4	—	4	1955	10	2	3	—	10	*
Lismore ...	5	9	14	5163	14	6	6	7	20	4
Limerick ...	5	11	16	8796	13	3	7	4	28	3
Ardfert ...	5	—	5	155	13	3½	3	—	16	—
Cork ...	3	12	17	9749	6	9	4	8	30	1
Ross ...	5	5	10	1975	13	0½	5	4	12	2
Cloyne ...	3	14	17	10772	13	8	5	6	30	1
Killaloe ...	5	—	5	2047	17	3½	1	—	3	—
Kilfenora ...	5	—	5	1471	14	2	2	—	7	1
Tuam ...	3	8	11	2530	7	5	5	9	30	6
Elphin ...	3	8	11	2472	11	5½	6	6	38	—
Clonfert ...	2	9	11	851	1	0½	5	11	46	4
Kilmaclough ...	3	2	7	1062	2	6	5	8	29	4
Kellalla ...	3	5	8	1233	1	6½	4	5	25	1
Achoury ...	3	3	6	1468	15	7	3	3	19	—
	129	166	295	152666	16	8½	105	125	574	39

* Except Chapter dividends.

The extra offices in the last 3 columns were held by 178 members of these corporations.

Ecclesiastical Revenues, Ireland Reports, 1833-6, pp. 126-7.

Here are 295 persons dividing among them, as Deans and Chapters, £152,666 16s. 8½d. And of these fortunate men 178 are still more fortunate, for besides and in addition to all they get as Deans and Chapters they hold among them 105 dignities, 125 prebends, 574 benefices, and 39 other offices, making altogether 843!!

Does not this seem incredible? Though I have myself copied the figures from the parliamentary returns, I can hardly accept them as correct. And yet they must be so. Could anything like this ever take place except in an Established Church—a Church which is made the prey and tool of politicians and political jobbery; which men look upon, not as an embodiment of the life and love of Christ, but as a place where scheming or good luck may get patronage, place, and pay, with little or nothing to do—the carcase round which the eagles may gather? Do we charge the state of things indicated in the facts and testimonies which have come under our review upon the constitution, doctrine, or worship of the Episcopal Protestant Church? Verily not. We attribute all this to its disastrous union with political powers; their influence penetrated, pervaded, poisoned, its very life. In the same circumstances no Church could have flourished, or even have made any tolerable effort towards accomplishing its proper mission. I entreat my Christian brethren to look candidly at this question; not permitting themselves to turn away from evidence because it may seem to conduct to conclusions adverse to their views and sentiments, not supposing that all who differ from them, on this subject, must be animated by sentiments of hostility to themselves and their Church; but regarding the question with open and honest heart, as one affecting the honour of Christ and the welfare of men, I implore them, if they see reason to think that the political connections of the Irish Church have been baneful to her life, purity, and success, to surrender them, in humble reliance upon Divine energy. “Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.”

It is, however, but just to state that the Irish Church is in a vastly better condition now than it was in 1834. Great changes were brought to pass by the Church Temporalities Act, and other and higher changes followed. Many, however, who declared themselves to be pre-eminently the friends of the Irish Church denounced and opposed that measure as vehemently as they do disestablishment now, and with just the same arguments. Spoliation; unsettling the foundations of property; perjury of the Sovereign; violation of the Act of Union; ruin of Protestantism in Ireland; endangering the Constitution; and shaking the throne, were the favourite topics then, as now. And yet it may well be questioned

whether the Irish Church could have been maintained till to-day had that Act not passed. It swept away many glaring abuses, and was followed by many great improvements.

Notwithstanding, it must be confessed that the success of the Church among the Irish people has been small indeed. In proof of this I advert to only one point—the number of Church adherents now, as compared with the number in 1834. I am determined to quote no figures that are open to dispute. The figures here are furnished by the Parliamentary Commissioners, and nobody questions them. In 1834 Ireland had a population of 7,962,891;* when the census was taken in 1861 the numbers were found to be 5,793,967, shewing a diminution of 2,168,924. There was of course a large decrease in all churches. But it is found on comparing the relative numbers of the three large denominations in Ireland, at the different periods, that they stand thus :—

Denominations	1834.	1861.	Results.
Established Church.	10·7	11·9	1·2 increase.
Roman Catholics.	80·9	77·7	3·2 decrease.
Presbyterians.	8·1	9·0	0·9 increase.

The relative increase in the Established Church between the two periods amounts to one and two-tenths in the hundred—that is in every 500 of the population there were 6 more Protestants in 1861 than there were in 1834. But how came it to pass that the population of Ireland diminished in 27 years 2,168,924? Was it not by famine, by pestilence, and by emigration? But upon what classes would these causes act most powerfully? Would they not be the poor cottiers who live chiefly upon potatoes, and those who were only just a grade above them? Do you think that where 100 of the poor died of hunger and pestilence, or were driven to emigration, there would be 50 belonging to the upper and well-to-do classes?—that for every 2 of the former there would be 1 of the latter? But the upper and well-to-do classes are nearly all Protestants. Though so small a portion of the population we are told that they own 9-10ths of the soil of the country, which is surely a clear indication of their position as compared with the general population. You cannot suppose that famine, pestilence, and emigration diminished the numbers of the well-off Protestants half as much as they did the poor Roman Catholics. But if they *did tell to this extent*, if they acted half as powerfully in the diminution of the Protestants as they did in the diminution of the Roman

* Ecclesiastical Instruction, First Report, 1835, p. 7.

Catholics, then, this difference exactly accounts for all the supposed progress of the Irish Church from 1834 to 1861. For it is a fact that whereas the Roman Catholics diminished something more than 27 per cent., the Protestants, both Episcopalians and Presbyterians, in the same period, diminished something more than 13 per cent.—the loss being a little greater among the Presbyterians than among the Episcopalians. So that the apparent *increase* of 1·2 per cent. is in fact a *less severe loss*, arising from a higher social position, and more immunity from the great calamities which have come upon the country. If the same causes could act in the same manner, and diminish the population of Ireland in the same proportions, in a single month—at the end of the month the Irish Church, without a single convert from Romanism, would stand about 1·2 better as to numbers than she does to-day. If there have been conversions there have been corresponding losses. It seems very clear, though very sad, that the improved relative position of Protestantism is attributable to the calamities of the country rather than to the success of the Church.

Does not the candid reader see in the facts and testimonies that have come under our review much reason to conclude that THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH IN IRELAND HAS BEEN INJURIOUS TO HER SPIRITUAL LIFE, AN OBSTACLE TO HER SUCCESS, AND, THEREFORE, DETRIMENTAL TO RELIGION?

CHAPTER VII.

IV.—That there is great reason to fear that the continuance of the Establishment would be detrimental to the Protestant religion.

“Let us find out abuses, sinecures, anomalies—and correct them ; let us lop off the dead branches, but not cut down the tree ; let us reform, but not destroy.” This, after what has been advanced, will be the thought of many. Our reply is that the only sufficient and effectual reformation will be found in dis-establishment, which alone could give true freedom and invigorated life. In confirmation of this let the following points be considered.

I. There is associated in the minds of the Irish people with the support of the Established Church a sense of injustice which no measures of internal reformation would remove, and which must stand in the way of anything like a fair examination of Protestantism, as well as of a thorough and loyal union among all classes of the people.

Some men who have lived in Ireland, and say they know the people well, deny the existence of any such feeling, declare that the people in general not only regard the clergyman as their best friend, but are well content with Church affairs as they stand. Marvellous ! Let any man spend only a few weeks in the South of Ireland—let him, in a spirit of sympathy and good will, talk freely with all classes, only seeking to see facts as they really are, and he *cannot* say there is no sense of injustice. He will find it everywhere, and will mournfully feel that there is no hope for Protestantism or for the unity and prosperity of the nation till that sense of injustice can be removed. The men who can honestly deny this, if they have lived in Ireland, must have lived among a “set” who re-echoed their own sentiments ; and, whenever they went beyond their own set, they must have taken the courteous and flattering expressions of a people naturally polite as proof of content and approval. Whether you think it well-founded or ill-founded, there is certainly the fact of a deep and wide-spread sense of injustice among the Irish people.

But is it not well-founded ? Is there not injustice ? Let the voice of common humanity answer. “As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.” Place yourself in the circumstances of the Roman Catholics. Should you experience no sense of injustice ? Roman Catholics in England do not bear quite so high a proportion to the rest of the population as Angli-

cans in Ireland, but they approach near to it, (and some of you say it is not a question of numbers at all). How would you like that fraction of the people to enjoy all the dignities, cathedrals, churches, glebes, and social honours of the Established Church of England? Would you be content? Would you make no effort to bring about a change? Lord Cairns said in the House of Lords:—"If there is anything unjust there can be no difficulty in putting your finger on what constitutes the injustice," and he put his finger upon several places, protesting that neither he nor anybody else could find anything of the sort. But common sense may venture to look at a question even in the presence of high legal authorities; and common sense will, I think, tell us that under three aspects of the case the Established Church is felt by the Irish people to be an injustice.

1. They feel that it is unjust to be compelled to support heresy. Are they not obliged to support a Church which they regard as the upholder of mortal error? Veil it, excuse it, look away from it as men may, is not that the fact? It is said that the landlords pay the tithes; that nine-tenths of the landlords are Protestants; that the other tenth purchased the lands subject to the condition of paying tithes; therefore there is no hardship; for Sir C. Lewis said "that tithes are of the nature of a rent charge upon the land." And thoughtful men can in this way try to persuade themselves that the general population of Ireland in no way and in no measure contribute to the support of the Irish Church!

First the statement as to the proportion of landlords is not correct. "It is indeed likely enough to be true that Anglican landlords, including absentees, do really own nine-tenths of all the land in Ireland. A few Anglicans may possess large tracts of country, while a great many proprietors of small estates may be of a different religion. The total of landed proprietors in Ireland, according to the census of 1861, was 8,412, of whom less than half, namely 4,044, were Anglicans; 3,576 were Roman Catholics, and 578 were Protestant Dissenters. In the province of Ulster, according to the last census, the Roman Catholic landed proprietors are more numerous than the Anglicans; while in Connaught the Roman Catholic landlords are more than twice as many as the Anglicans."*

Second, the tenants pay tithes through the landlords. Is not the idea of tithes a tenth of the produce of the land? Prior to the passing of the Tithe Commutation Act did not the tithe proctors extort from the small farmers and miserable cottiers by threats, by law, by armed force, the payment of the tithe of his crops either in kind or in the shape of the shilling or half-crown which after-

* An Irish Rector, *Daily News*, April 10, 1868.

wards stood in its place? Can we forget Carleton's mournful picture of the tithe proctor?

But it is said all that was altered by the Commutation Act under which the tithe is payable by the landlord, and the tenant pays nothing at all. Is that so? Does he not pay indirectly? What was the occasion and meaning of the Act? Let us listen to an able defender of the Church. Speaking of the determined opposition to tithes, which led to fearful scenes of bloodshed from 1820 to 1838, he says, "At length, in the year 1833, the evil had become so crying that Government was constrained to come to the aid of the sufferers by a loan from the treasury of a million sterling; which loan was subsequently turned into a gift—a gift, however, not so much to the defrauded tithe owner as to the defrauding payer, inasmuch as it involved the wiping out of all arrears. After this it was of course impossible that payment could be enforced on the former footing; and accordingly in the year 1838 a fresh enactment was made, by which the tithe composition, HERETOFORE CHARGEABLE ON THE OCCUPIER, WAS CONVERTED INTO A RENT CHARGE PAYABLE BY THE OWNER, WHO WAS HENCEFORTH TO RECEIVE THE AMOUNT FROM HIS TENANT IN THE SHAPE OF AN ADDITION TO THE RENT; while the tithe owner was obliged to compound by the sacrifice of one-fourth of his income for the peaceable and regular receipt of the remaining three-fourths. Heavy, however, as was the price exacted, the measure was, on the whole, received by the clergy as a boon. Whatever the income might now be, they were likely to receive it, and they would no longer be brought into direct collision with the small occupiers grudgingly and tardily handing forth the half crown or shilling at which they were assessed."*

This is a rational and true statement of the facts by a friend of the Establishment. "The owner was henceforth to receive the amount from his tenant in the shape of an addition to the rent," and for the trouble of collecting he was allowed 25 per cent. Does not the produce pay both rent and tithe? Where would be the tithe if there were no produce? Is it not the case of the compound householder? You may just as well say of him that he pays no rates, because his landlord pays them. It is the idea of the law, it is the fact of the case, that every tenant in Ireland as truly pays tithe to the Protestant Anglican Church as every man in England pays taxes upon whatever tobacco, beer or spirits he consumes.† Neither pays directly; indirectly both pay. If it be the fact that nine-tenths of the land of Ireland is owned by Anglicans it is not less the fact that eight-ninths of the population

* Historical Sketch. Essays, pp. 133-4.

† See note at the end of the Chapter.

are compelled to support a Church which they believe to be the teacher of mortal heresy.

Third. Everybody quotes Sir C. Lewis as saying that tithes in Ireland involve no injustice, because they are "of the nature of a rent charge." No doubt Sir C. Lewis was an able man, but it is difficult to see why we should be called upon to receive his dictum as infallible. But what do those who quote it mean? The words appear to be regarded by some as a most convenient and decisive method of settling the whole question—but do these same persons understand them? Have they explained them? The words which are supposed sufficient to silence and abash every opponent are: "The grievance is commonly stated to be that the Roman Catholics are compelled to contribute by the payment of tithes to the support of a Church from which they differ. Now in fact the Roman Catholics, although they may pay tithes, contribute nothing, inasmuch as in Ireland tithe is of the nature, not of a tax but of a reserved rent, which never belonged either to landlord or tenant." The common defence of Irish tithes is, that the tenant does not pay them because they come out of the landlord's pocket; but here we are told that neither contributes anything, as they are of the nature of a reserved rent, which never belonged to landlord or tenant. Why? Because both came into possession or occupation of the property subject to this payment. Then if a man buys a farm subject to the property tax, he may pay the tax, but he contributes nothing towards the public burthens, because that payment never belonged either to him or his tenant! "Oh, but you mistake;—the Irish tithes are not of the nature of a tax but of a reserved rent." So then you have the landlord paying rent. But what is the distinction between this rent and a tax? Is not tithe a payment levied without distinction and enforced by law for national objects or institutions? What is that but a tax? According to this, if Parliament were to pass a law enforcing upon the Irish people an *additional tithe* for the support of a Roman Catholic Establishment, after the death of all the present generation of owners and tenants, you might say of that additional tithe, in the words of Sir C. Lewis, "Now in fact the Anglicans, although they pay the tithe, contribute nothing to Romanism, inasmuch as in Ireland tithe is of the nature, not of a tax but of a reserved rent, which never belonged either to landlord or tenant."

But these very convenient words "a reserved rent," what do they mean? A charge in lieu of so much rent falling upon the tenant? Then the tenant after all pays the tithes. Yes, but he pays them "in lieu of rent." Now if there is one particle of force in that it must mean that the tenant's pecuniary position would be just what it is; the burthens he bears just as heavy; the effort

necessary to live just as great as at present, if there were no tithes at all ; that if the tenth of the produce, or that which represents it, now taken by the Church were not so taken, but left to be distributed among the people, that the tenant would not come in for one penny of it. Is it meant to make that statement? If it is the statement is as utterly opposed to fact as it would be to say that the abolition of borough and parochial rates would not make a particle of difference to the working man ; and if it is not meant to make that statement, then to use these words, as they are commonly used, to signify that the tenants of Ireland contribute nothing to the Irish Church, is either to impose upon yourself with nonsense, or to impose upon others by throwing dust into their eyes.

It is said, moreover, that as the Roman Catholic landlords purchased their property subject to the payment of tithes to the Protestant Church, they can have no reason to complain. Can you honestly think there is any force in that? Did not every purchaser of house property 25 years ago buy it subject to the window tax? Did he therefore say I must not complain, nay, it would be unjust of me to attempt to get rid of this tax? If you were now to purchase a farm would not part of its produce be subject to the malt tax, would you consequently be uneasy in your conscience if that tax were repealed? Was not all the property in England purchased or inherited liable to Church-rates, and yet have not both houses of Parliament passed a measure whose leading principle is that it is unjust to compel Nonconformists to pay these rates? Looking candidly at what has been advanced, must you not admit that it is a fact that Roman Catholics are compelled to support a Church which they believe to be the teacher of mortal heresy, and that they feel, and rationally feel, that this is an injustice?

It may be well to place the argument from the words of Sir C. Lewis by the side of one which has been frequently employed, but has risen into distinguished favour by receiving the high sanction of Sir Roundell Palmer. In the language of the *Standard* : —“ Another point of great importance cannot be better put than Sir R. Palmer has put it. The vested rights of the clergy are to be respected ; why are the vested rights of the laity to be contemptuously set aside? Is nothing but money deserving of protection? are pecuniary interests alone worth the consideration of Parliament? The incumbent of a parish receives £400 a year for ministering to the congregation ; the congregation of parishioners possess an endowment of £400 a year for the support of their church and clergyman. The incumbent's interest is by general admission inviolable ; he must have the £400 a year as long as he

lives. But why is the interest of the parishioners to be confiscated ; why are they not, on the same principle, to retain through their lifetime (aye, and that of their descendants, who have already a reversion therein), their right to the free enjoyment of the Church services and the ministrations of an educated clergyman ? Their pecuniary interest, even, is as just, as definite as his. At present they have £400 a year for the supply of their religious needs ; by what right are they, on the death of the incumbent, to be deprived of this, and forced, if they would retain the same spiritual advantages, to pay £400 a year out of their own pockets ? Is not this a clear confiscation of existing rights ?”

According to this, then, the £400 a year is the property of the parish. For “the congregation or parishioners possess an endowment of £400 a year for the support of their Church and clergyman.” And “the incumbent *receives* the £400 a year for ministering to the congregation.” That is, the property is public property, and if not paid to the incumbent for ministering to the parishioners, should be employed in some other way for their benefit.

But the *Standard* goes on with its account of Sir Roundell’s speech, presenting a noteworthy aspect of the property question : —“The same point again presents itself in a somewhat altered light. Seven-eighths of the Church’s tithe income is derived from the estates of Churchmen. A pays £200 a year to the parish rector, in return for which he enjoys the benefits of the parish church and the rector’s parochial ministrations. What right have you to call upon him to continue the payment without receiving the equivalent ? You say that the Church may subsist on the voluntary principle. But A already pays £200 out of (say) £2,000 a year to the Church. Is it just that you should confiscate this £200, and then say to him, ‘If you want a clergyman in the parish you must pay him another £200 out of your remaining income ?’ This is not putting him on a level with the Roman Catholic farmer or Presbyterian manufacturer who pays his minister £100 out of an income of £1,000. The Church landowner does this already ; you call on him to do it twice over. Under the Church Temporalities Act the Churchmen who own seven-eighths of the land of Ireland accepted the liability to pay a rent-charge of £350,000 in lieu of tithe. For what equivalent ?—the peaceful, undisturbed maintenance of a Protestant Church and clergymen in their several parishes. If you deprive them of the consideration, what right have you any longer to extort the payment ?”

Then, according to this, that most useful argument from the words of Sir C. Lewis, which has done almost universal service, about tithe being a rent charge, must be given up—it is gone.

According to that, neither the landlord nor the tenant, though paying tithe, *contribute anything* to the Irish Church ; for the tithe never belonged to the one or the other." According to this, the landlords *contribute all* ;—"for A already pays £200 out of (say) £2,000 a year to the Church. Is it just to confiscate this and make him pay again ?"

These arguments destroy each other. The same persons, however, use them ; only they use them for different purposes. When you want to meet the statement that it is unjust to compel Roman Catholics to contribute to a Protestant Church, then you may use the formula of Sir C. Lewis, and prove in a trice that in paying tithes they *contribute nothing* ; when you wish to object to dis-establishment on the score of property, then you may use the formula of Sir Roundell Palmer and prove that the landlords *pay everything*, even as "the Roman Catholic farmer or Presbyterian manufacturer who pays his minister £100 a year." This, no doubt is very convenient, though some little awkwardness may arise if some people should happen to see that the effective answer to Sir C. Lewis is Sir Roundell Palmer ; and the effective answer to Sir Roundell Palmer is Sir C. Lewis.

And it may be as well here to point out that you can argue against dis-establishment upon the ground of property in three different ways ; first, the property belongs to the Church—is sacred—you must not lay unhallowed hands upon the ark ; second, it is the property of the parishioners—"are the vested rights of the laity to be contemptuously set aside ?" Third, it is the property of the landlords—"what right have you, by throwing the Church upon the voluntary principle, to make them pay twice over." You cannot of course employ all these arguments at once ; but you may do so at different times, as is the common custom. But which is the right argument ? they cannot all be right. Well, if the answer may be suggested by the practice of certain controversialists, it must be whichever you find most convenient.

2. The sense of injustice arising from being compelled to support a Church which they look upon as heretical, is rendered more intense by the feeling that the ecclesiastical property of Ireland was formerly possessed by their own Church—that men holding their own views—their forefathers—were forcibly evicted for Protestants to take possession. If any historical fact is unquestionable it is this, that tithes were instituted in Ireland in support of a Church owning the authority and holding the doctrines of Rome ; and that for nearly 400 years that Church enjoyed all the emoluments and dignities of the National Establishment. It is also a fact which must soon be generally acknowledged, that the Reformation in Ireland was little more than an irrational attempt

to force the religion of the rulers upon a people not only reluctant but stoutly opposed. The leading features of the narrative may be seen by reference to pages 39-45. Can you be surprised that a people knowing and remembering these things, and paying tithes to Protestants who occupy the benefices, palaces, and cathedrals, are dissatisfied, especially when you recollect that of the 8,412 landlords in Ireland, only 4,044 were, according to the census of 1861, adherents of the Anglican Church?

But it is said Roman Catholics do not claim the ecclesiastical property for their own Church, neither are they willing to accept endowment from the State. We are told that Sir Roundell Palmer "notes the absence of any counter claim to the endowments of the Church as a strong legal, moral, and practical evidence of her right. In law and in reason, if A possesses a thing which B or C desire to wrest from him, it is requisite that they should not only find a flaw in A's title, but should prove their own." The Roman Catholics say, "We do not claim the restoration of the property; we are unwilling to submit to the conditions which its enjoyment would involve;" but does that shut their mouths? Does that take away all ground of complaint? Is that any good reason for compelling them to support a Church which they look upon as heretical? When, in former times, our government gave bounties upon certain manufactures, were they who objected to these unreasonable unless they claimed them for themselves? Were the opponents of the corn laws unreasonable because they did not claim the cash which had gone into the pockets of the landlords? And without claiming the tithes for their own Church, Roman Catholics may rationally be unwilling to pay them to the Anglican Establishment.

3. The sense of injustice is aggravated yet more by the fact that while the whole nation contributes to it, all this wealth is enjoyed by so small a fraction as one-ninth of the people, and they the most wealthy and favoured of the land. Look over again the tables, pages 65-69, furnished by the Parliamentary Commissioners, and bethink you that they are an indication of the state of things which had existed, only oftentimes worse, for 300 years. Since then the Church Temporalities Act, which was denounced as a measure of sacrilege and ruin, has wrought great improvements; but even to-day you may go into scores of parishes and find that three, four, or five families comprehend all the worshippers who enjoy the benefit of parsonages, churches, glebes,—of deans, bishops, cathedrals,—of palaces, tithes, and social status:—while scores and sometimes hundreds of the poorest families in the same place are not only shut out from all advantages, but, besides sustaining their own religion, are compelled, directly or indirectly, to contribute to

that of the favoured few. And they are compelled to do so because they are under the power of England. But for that the Irish Establishment would perish like Jonah's gourd or fall like Fonthill Abbey. Left to themselves the Irish people would not sustain it for a day. It is a sad truth, but a truth nevertheless which cannot be denied, that the Anglican Church in Ireland is kept up by the sword. In nothing is the supremacy of England so offensively and perpetually paraded,—is the feeling of degraded subjection so painfully pressed into the Irish heart as in connection with an Establishment for the support of a religion whose first law is the law of love, and whose first and noblest anthem is "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men." How under these circumstances can you expect men to listen to Protestant truth. Have they not hearts? In proportion to the vivacity of their feelings will be the intensity of the loathing with which they turn from a system which, having 300 years ago deprived their Church of her property, has ever since compelled the vast multitude of the poor to contribute out of their penury towards clothing the religion of the rich in costly and splendid garments. Had men not become accustomed to the existing state of things, they could entertain no hope of converting the Irish people to Scriptural religion while Protestantism comes to them not only associated with repulsive thoughts and painful feelings, but still living upon the injustice by which it has been stained for generations. Here you have an insuperable barrier to the success of your mission as a Church. Will you break down the barrier or sacrifice your mission?

4. And this brings us to another consideration—that the memories connected with the past history of the Irish Establishment will stand in the way of the success of the Church. The complaint has been frequently and justly made that Englishmen know next to nothing of the history and condition of India, though that vast country is under their rule and open to their energies. But with much greater reason may Irishmen complain that we know so little of a beautiful and fertile land which, lying within a few hours of our coast, has been for 700 years subject to our government and identified with our fortunes. If men of all parties could be induced to study candidly Ireland's history, we might hope for a deeper interest in her welfare and a nearer approach to unanimity as to the causes and cures of her chronic maladies. Among other things it would be seen that as you cannot in the life of a nation, any more than in that of an individual, ignore the past—as its streams must flow into the present—as the marks of bygone national evils cannot be easily effaced—as the scars of former conflicts and sufferings remain for ages—as the

memories of past wrongs retain for centuries their vitality, giving direction to the thoughts, colour to the emotions, and character to the entire life of a people, it is well nigh vain to attempt to win the Irish nation to Protestantism by the agency of the Irish Establishment. It is so closely associated in their minds with the neglects, oppressions, and heart bitterness with which it has been bound up in former times that to attempt to convert them in that way is like trying to run with your arms tied, to fight with your leg broken, or to swim with a great bag of gold round your neck.

Little indeed is known in the present day of the cruel penalties inflicted in former times with a view to compel conformity to the Established Church. By the 23 Eliz., ch. i.—“Every person above the age of sixteen years who shall not repair to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, but forbear the same contrary to the 1 Eliz., ch. ii., shall forfeit to the Queen’s Majesty for every month which he shall so forbear £20, and over and beside the said forfeitures every person so forbearing by the space of twelve months shall, after certificate thereof in writing, made unto the King’s bench by the bishop of the diocese, or a justice of assize, or a justice of the peace of the county where the offender shall dwell, be bound with two sufficient sureties in £200 at least, to the good behaviour and so to continue bound until he conform himself and come to church. . . . And if such person shall not be able or shall fail to pay the same within three months after judgment given, he shall be committed to prison till he have paid the same or conform himself to go to church.”

These penalties fell upon Protestant Nonconformists as well as upon Roman Catholics.

The following are some of the prohibitions and penalties enforced by statutes passed soon after the Reformation to suppress the Roman Catholic religion :—“All books used in Roman Catholic worship, with all images, relics, &c., to be destroyed—if not destroyed or surrendered to be burnt—the holder, for the first offence, to pay a fine for each article of 20s. ; for the second offence of £4 ; for the third offence to be imprisoned at the King’s will.

“To print such books, or bring them from beyond sea, a fine of 40s. each.

“To wear a cross or *Agnus Dei* received from the Pope, or from any person authorized to consecrate the same—premunire.

“Houses of Popish recusants might be searched for books, pictures, relics, &c., &c.

“All priests expelled the realm upon pain of high treason.

"All who receive and maintain them to be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

"Any students, not priests, at foreign colleges to return within six months upon pain of high treason.

"To subscribe to any such colleges, even for your son's education—*premunire*.

"If you know of any priest and do not inform the authorities—imprisonment at the King's pleasure.

"Suspected priests might be taken and imprisoned at pleasure.

"For discovering to the authorities any person receiving a priest, or any priest saying mass, on conviction of the same, to receive one-third of the forfeiture, so as the total do not exceed £150, and if it shall exceed that, the sum of £50 for every discovery.

"To say mass, 200 marks and a year's imprisonment; to hear it, a year's imprisonment and 100 marks.

"If a parent send his child beyond sea for education he shall forfeit £100, the child all rights to lands, legacies, and debts in the realm; and, if they took the child wittingly, the owner shall forfeit the ship and tackle, and the captain his goods and be imprisoned for 12 months."*

Such are some of the coercive enactments by which the civil power, in its endeavour to suppress Popery and to uphold its own Established Church, made the people more determined Papists, furnished occasion for bloody rebellions and wars, and filled the heart of the nation with bitter memories of wrong, which have been handed down as a heritage of sorrow from generation to generation even to our own day.

Moreover bitter emotions and memories were not permitted to die for want of food—they might fare sumptuously every day. After the period when the life of the Irish people had long been crushed under heavy penalties a number of cruel enactments were passed, which are often spoken of as the Irish penal laws. "The close of the seventeenth and the commencement of the eighteenth centuries were signalized by the enactment of many stringent laws against Roman Catholics, which entailed upon them great hardships and disabilities."† These enactments are justly spoken of in the following emphatic terms:—"They may be read in the Irish statute book from 1690 to 1790. Well, look first at the disadvantageous position in which Irish Roman Catholics were placed by law, as respects the offices and ministrations of their own Church, Their higher ecclesiastics were sentenced to perpetual exile, and

* Burn, *Art Popery*.

† Rev. A. W. Edwards, M.A.

large rewards offered for their discovery within the kingdom. Their parochial priests were compelled to register, as a kind of ticket-of-leave functionaries; to give heavy bail that they would not go beyond the limits of their respective counties; and to engage that they would never exercise their functions out of their own parishes. They were forbidden to assume any ecclesiastical title and to wear any professional dress—to erect any steeple, to toll any bell, to officiate in any grave-yard. Their images were to be destroyed, their crosses thrown down, and their pilgrimages prohibited. But, on the other hand, handsome annuities were offered by law to those priests who should apostatise. How were the Irish Roman Catholics treated in regard to education? Every Catholic school was closed; every Catholic schoolmaster subject to transportation, with the penalty of death in case of his return; no child of Catholic parents could be sent abroad for education without a special license, and, lest the Act should be evaded, any magistrate might at any moment demand that the child should be produced in his presence. What was their case in regard to the ordinary occupations of life? They were incapacitated from holding any commission in the army or navy, and from every liberal profession but that of medicine. They could purchase no landed estate, nor occupy any farm the profits of which exceeded a third of the rent. If they betook themselves to industrial or commercial pursuits they were literally at the mercy of Protestant municipalities. If, in spite of these restrictions, they acquired some property, what was their control over it? It was taxed *ad libitum* by the State, county, municipal, and parochial authorities. No one belonging to the discouraged sect was allowed even to possess a horse of above £5 value. He could receive no real property from Protestants, either by deed of gift or by bequest; and if, during his lifetime, his eldest son turned Protestant, he lost all legal control over him, and became incapable of charging his estate with portions for his other children. Finally, in regard to the general privileges of citizenship, no Roman Catholic could marry a Protestant lady, nor entrust, at his death, the guardianship of his children to his wife or friends, nor exercise the elective franchise, nor sit in Parliament.”*

And even after the relaxation of penal laws the land presented an appalling spectacle of disorganization and massacre, in consequence of the measures taken to enforce the payment of tithes in support of an Establishment which was at that time mournfully disgraced by pampered indolence and inefficiency. The following is the description of “the condition of the Established Church for

* Miall's Speech in House of Commons, May, 1856.

a long lapse of time both before and after the Union," by William Carleton, Esq., author of "Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry," who writes as an enemy of agitation and an eye witness of the deplorable state of his native country, which he depicts :— "The Established Church in Ireland, then in its unpurged and unreformed state, was very little else than a mere political engine for supporting and fostering British interests and British principles in this country ; and no one here had any great chance of preferment in it who did not signalize himself some way in favour of English policy. The Establishment was indeed the only bond that bound the political interests of the two nations together. But if any person will now venture to form an opinion of the Irish Church from her gorgeous and immense wealth at that period, he will unquestionably find that what ought to have been a spiritual, pure, holy, self-denying, and zealous Church, was neither more nor less than an overgrown, proud, idle, and indolent Establishment ; bloated by ease and indulgence, and corrupted almost to the very core by secular and political prostitution. The state of the Establishment was indeed equally anomalous and disgraceful. So jealous was England, and at the same time so rapacious of its wealth that it was parcelled out to Englishmen without either shame or scruple, whilst Irish piety and learning, when they did happen to be found, were uniformly overlooked and disregarded. All the ecclesiastical offices of dignity and emolument were bestowed upon Englishmen ; upon men who lived here with reluctance and but seldom, who had no sympathy with the country or its inhabitants, nay, who looked upon us, in general, with feelings of hostility and contempt, and who, by example and precept, rendered no earthly equivalent for the enormous sums that were drawn from a poor and struggling people. It is idle to say that these prodigious ecclesiastical revenues were not paid by the people, but by the landlord, who, if the people had not paid them, would have added them to the rent. But even so the struggling peasant reasoned naturally, for he felt it to be one thing to pay even a high rent to the landlord, whose rights, as such, he acknowledged ; but a very different thing to pay forth out of his own pocket a tenth of his produce to a pastor of a hostile creed, which had little sympathy with him, for which he received no spiritual equivalent, on which, besides, he was taught to look as a gross and ungodly heresy.

"But this was not the worst of it. In the discussion of this subject it is rather hazardous for the champion of our former Establishment to make any allusion to the landlord at all ; the fact unfortunately being, that in the management and disposal of land the landlords, in general, were gifted with a very convenient forgetfulness that such a demand as tithes was to come upon the

tenant at all. The land in general was let as if it had been tithe-free, whilst at the same time, and in precisely the same grasping spirit, it so happened that wherever it *was* tithe-free the rents exacted were also enormous, and such as—supposing the tithe had not an existence—no country ever could suffer to become the basis of valuation, or to settle down into a system. In fact, such was the spirit, and so profligate *the condition of the Established Church for a long lapse of time, both before and after the union*, that we may lay it down as a general principle, that every thing was rewarded in it but piety and learning.

“If there were anything wanting to prove the truth and accuracy of our statements, it would be found in the bitter and relentless spirit in which the Established Church and her pastors were assailed at that period of which we write. The course of clerical education had been defined, established, and extended; young profligates *could not enter the Church as in good old times, without any earthly preparation, either in learning or morals*. They were obliged to read, and thoroughly to understand, an extensive and enlightened course of divinity, to attend lectures, and entitle themselves, both by attendance and answering, to a certain number of certificates, without which they had no chance for orders. In point of fact, they were forced to become serious; and the consequences soon began to appear in the general character of the Church. Much piety, activity, learning, and earnest labour were to be found in it; and indeed we may venture to say that, with the exception of her carnal and debasing wealth, she had been purified and reformed to a very considerable extent even then. Still, however, the bloated mass of mammon hung about her, prostrating her energies, secularizing her spirit, and, we must add, oppressing the people out of whose pockets it was forced to come. . . .

“Such, then, was the state of the Protestant Established Church for a considerable length of time *before* the tithe agitation and also immediately preceding it.”*

Regarded as the Establishment is, and must be, on account of the memories of the past and the feelings produced by a sense of present injustice; with also the certainty that political parties will, as occasion offers, still make it the instrument of their own purposes, are we not justified in saying THAT THERE IS GREAT REASON TO FEAR THAT THE CONTINUANCE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO THE PROTESTANT RELIGION?

NOTE to 74th page.—By sec. x., 1st & 2nd Victoria, ch. 109, the Act in question, persons holding by lease, at the time of the passing of this Act, lands

* Carleton's Tithe Proctor, chap. viii.

liable to tithes were obliged to pay the rent charges substituted in lieu of tithes to their *landlords in addition to their stipulated rent*. And the landlords might "enforce payment of such sum by Distress, Ejectment, or Re-entry, or by Action of Debt Covenant, or otherwise, as he may enforce payment of the rent reserved by such lease." Only the leaseholders whose lease contained a covenant to the effect that the landlord should pay the tithes could claim exemption. And this is in harmony with an Act for the Relief of Owners of Tithes in Ireland, 3 & 4 Wm. IV., c. 100, section 25, which provides that when the person owing a sum for tithes shall occupy the land, the landlord, on paying the same, may add such sum to the rent, and enforce payment thereof as if it were rent.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FREE PRIMITIVE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

V.—That for 700 years, when there was no Established Church, Evangelical religion flourished in Ireland more than it has done at any subsequent period.

If, it is said, you dis-establish the Irish Church you hand over the country to the domination of Popery ; Protestantism will be powerless, scarcely maintaining a feeble and languishing existence ; where Anglicans are few, it will be impossible to keep up worship, and they will speedily be absorbed into the Romish Church. A fitting reply to these forebodings, though by no means the only one, is found in the history of the Church and country. The Primitive Church in Ireland was not a Civil Establishment. For 700 years it consisted of free, independent, self-governed, self-supporting, and aggressive communities, and was far more vigorous in the proper attributes of Church life than at any period during the 700 years of State patronage and control.

There is reason to conclude that very early in the Christian era Ireland was visited by the men who “went everywhere preaching the Gospel ;” but the information concerning these first witnesses and workers is not very precise, neither is it necessary for our present purpose to review it. The evidence of the proposition at the head of this chapter gathers round the history of one remarkable man whose name has been for ages identified with Ireland. Lest I should be supposed to colour or to transmute the facts by putting them into my own language, I shall give them, almost entirely, in the words of warm friends of the Established Church, only using a few of my own to weave together the extracts of which the history will be composed.

EARLY LIFE OF ST. PATRICK.

“The most ancient, and by far the most reliable sources of information respecting St. Patrick and his labours are to be found in two tracts, both professing to have been written by the Saint himself towards the close of his life, and almost universally admitted to possess all the marks of genuineness. The one, called the ‘Confession of St. Patrick,’ is in the nature of an apology, and gives some account of his early life and ministry. The other, ‘The Epistle of Coroticus,’ is a remonstrance addressed to a Welsh chieftain of that name, who, although himself a professed

Christian, had made a marauding attack on the Christian Irish, and contains likewise several references to the writer and his labours. From these ancient documents we learn that he was the son of a deacon and the grandson of a priest ; that while living with his parents at a place called Bonavem Taberniæ (generally supposed to have been in Brittany) he was carried captive from thence at the age of 16 years by a band of pirates, and sold into slavery in the north-east of Hiberio, or Ireland ; that while there, employed in tending cattle, and enduring many hardships, he was brought to a sense of his sin and unbelief of heart, and to turn earnestly to the Lord ; that, having at the end of six years escaped, and, after many perils and adventures, been restored to his parents, he felt constrained in his mind to return to Ireland as a missionary to the still heathen natives there, with whose language and habits he had become acquainted during his captivity ; that his friends, opposing his design, he was finally confirmed in it by a remarkable vision ; that he accordingly came to Ireland and had laboured successfully for many years at the time when these epistles were written.

ST. PATRICK'S DOCTRINE.

“As to the first [doctrine] we may gather from the two tracts already named (the former of which contains something in the nature of a creed or profession of faith) as well as from some other writings, less unanimously ascribed to him, that he held and taught the doctrines of the Trinity, of the incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, and of His coming again at the last day to judge all men, and likewise of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit to make us sons of God and heirs of immortality. He held, moreover, the Holy Scriptures to be the Word of God, and quotes them freely and exclusively as the authority by which all statements of doctrine are to be proved and confirmed. On the other hand, the doctrines of human merit, purgatory, saint-worship, transubstantiation, papal infallibility, and other distinctive tenets of modern Romanism, not only find no place in these writings, but are wholly irreconcilable with many passages in them.”*

Dean Murray writes, “The Irish we are told by St. Bernard, in his *Life of Malachi*, ‘rejected auricular confession as well as authoritative absolution.’ They confessed to God alone, as believing ‘God alone could forgive sins.’ They would neither give to the Church of Rome the tenths, nor the first-fruits ; nor would they be legitimately married, that is, according to the forms insisted on by the Romish Church. Before the Council of Cashel, con-

* *Essays*, pp. 61-64.

vened by Henry II. in 1172, marriage was regarded as a civil rite, and was performed by the magistracy; at that Council the priests were authorized to perform the ceremony, and therefore we find the ancient Irish Christians denounced 'as schismatics and heretics,' by St. Bernard: and as being in reality 'pagans, while calling themselves Christians.'"

Alcuin, in his epistles, thus speaks of the Irish:—"None of the laity are willing to make their confessions to priests, whom we believe to have received from Christ (our) God, the power of binding and loosing as the Apostles did."—(*Epist.* 26 or 71.) St. Bernard reports that Malachi, who lived in the twelfth century, *instituted anew* (in the Irish Church) the salutary practice of confession, the sacrament of confirmation, and matrimonial contracts, all of which *they knew not*, or neglected." (*In vita Malachi.*)*

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEM OF THE PRIMITIVE IRISH CHURCH.

"The ecclesiastical system adopted by St. Patrick, and which for several centuries continued to characterise the Irish Church, was likewise well adapted to the state of society which then prevailed—viz., the establishment throughout the country of religious communities, who kept up in their churches the stated worship of God, trained in the doctrines and ritual of the Church native candidates for the ministry, and instructed the people around them in the principles of Christianity. Though of the nature of monasteries, these establishments were by no means at first so rigid in their rules as such institutions subsequently became. Women, for instance, were not altogether excluded from them, nor were their inmates confined to cloisters or bound by vows. They were usually located on grants of land, often very extensive, made by the kings or other chieftains who had been converted to Christianity and desired to have the worship of God set up among their people, and thus became identified with the clan or tribe in which they were settled. It is obvious that such a system must have tended considerably to the protection, as well as the increased influence, of the community,

The monastic and missionary character thus early impressed on the Church in Ireland was no doubt the principal cause of several peculiarities in her ecclesiastical arrangements which exposed her at a subsequent period, when all Churches came to be measured on the Procrustean bed of Rome, to the charge of irregularity, and even of schism, such as the multiplication of bishops, their frequent consecration *per saltum* (that is, without having first passed through the inferior orders) and by a single bishop instead

* Murray, p. 43, and note.

of by two or three, and, what was still more remarkable, the absence of any regularly defined episcopal jurisdiction. The distinction of *order* was indeed carefully maintained, and there are no instances on record of any but bishops being permitted to ordain, confirm, or consecrate Churches; but no special field of labour, or recognized jurisdiction appears to have been assigned to them. The Episcopal dignity was conferred apparently as a recognition of superior learning or sanctity, and, when conferred, its functions were generally exercised, as in St. Patrick's own case, at the discretion of the recipient, whether as the inmate of a monastery, living in obedience to his abbot—or as connected with some particular tribe or clan, subject to his chieftain—or as the head of a school of learning—or as a missionary to the still heathen countries of continental Europe.

The designation "Archbishop," occasionally given to ecclesiastics in the early Irish Church, was not intended to express any such superiority of station or of jurisdiction over other bishops as is implied in its later acceptance, but merely eminence of character or special celebrity." See Todd, p. 16, King's *Memoir of the Primacy of Armagh*, p. 16, Rev. A. W. Edwards in *Essays*, p. 66-7.

"The limits of dioceses had not been firmly settled, nor had diocesan episcopacy become a national institution till the century of the English invasion.

The settlement of the numbers and territorial jurisdiction of bishops, as well as the endowment of parishes almost synchronized with the English invasion."*

GREAT NUMBER OF BISHOPS IN IRELAND; THE ROMISH CHURCH
WOULD NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THEM.

Dean Murray writes:—"A further and striking proof of the Eastern, and consequently the anti-Romish origin of the Irish Church appears to be *the great multitude of bishops in Ireland, where they changed and multiplied them at pleasure*. In like manner we read that St. Basil in the fourth century had fifty rural bishops in his diocese, and that there were five hundred sees in the six African provinces.

"This rule of the Irish Church occasioned great animosity on the part of Rome. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, complains bitterly, that 'our bishops everywhere were elected and consecrated without a title, and by *one* bishop instead of three, which was according to the Roman plan.' No objection can be made to the

* Rev. W. Anderson, in *Essays*, 167-171.

testimony of St. Bernard and Anselm, on this head, being Romans themselves ; but the truth of it does not depend on their statements alone, for it appears that Virgil and *seven* Irish bishops went forth on a mission together to Germany in the middle of the eighth century.

"In the seventh century *the Irish bishops swarmed in Britain*, as may be seen from Bede ; in fact, the Churches in Scotland and the north of England were regularly supplied with bishops and Presbyters from the Irish Church, and this was become so general that there could not be found three Romish bishops to consecrate Wulfred, all being of Irish consecration and natives of Ireland.

"In 670, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, decreed that 'they who were consecrated by Irish or British Bishops, should be confirmed anew by a Catholic one.' The fifth canon of the Council of Cealehyth, in section sixteen, requires 'that none of Irish extraction be permitted to usurp to himself the sacred ministry in any one's diocese ; nor let it be allowed such an one to touch any thing which belongs to those of the holy order, nor to receive any thing from them in baptism or in the celebration of the mass, or that they administer the Eucharist to the people, or invade the parish of another, without the bishop's consent, so much the rather should we refuse to receive the sacred ministrations from other nations, where there is no such order as that of Metropolitans, nor any regard paid to other orders.'

"Here we can trace, by collecting and comparing these facts, the steps taken by the ever-watchful jealousy of the Church of Rome to supplant the Irish Church, which had taken so deep a root at this time in England, and which was extending its influence to so many different parts of Europe.

"The fears of the Saxons were soon communicated to the continental clergy. The forty-second Canon of Chalons, in section thirteen, forbids 'certain Irishmen, who gave themselves out to be bishops, to ordain priests or deacons without the consent of the ordinary.' The same year the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle observes, 'that in some places there were Irish who *called themselves Bishops*, and ordained many improper persons, without the consent of their lords, or of the magistrates.' These alarms could only have been excited by the numbers, zeal, and perseverance of the Irish Bishops, and the jealousy with which their exertions were regarded as an independent Missionary Church."*

RICH IN GREAT AND GOOD MEN.

The Rev. A. W. Edwards testifies :—"It was nevertheless a

* Murray, pp. 37-39.

period rich in great names and noble deeds—a period in which, by the many famous schools of sacred literature established at home, and frequented by multitudes from England and the continent, as well as by the no less famous monasteries founded abroad, in Scotland, France, Switzerland, Germany, and elsewhere, the name of Scots [Irish] became illustrious throughout Christendom, and their country obtained the appellation of the ‘Island of Saints.’ ”*

O’Driscol, a Roman Catholic writer, says :—“There is something very singular in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. The Christian Church of that country, as founded by St. Patrick and his predecessors, existed for many ages free and unshackled. ‘For above 700 years this Church maintained its independence.’ It had no connection with England, and differed upon points of importance with Rome. The first work of Henry II. was to reduce the Church of Ireland into obedience to the Roman Pontiff. Accordingly he procured a Council of the Irish Clergy to be held at Cashel in 1172, and the combined influence and intrigues of Henry and the Pope prevailed. This Council put an end to the ancient Church of Ireland, and submitted it to the yoke of Rome. ‘That ominous apostacy has been followed by a series of calamities hardly to be equalled in the world.’ From the days of St. Patrick to the Council of Cashel was a bright and glorious era for Ireland. From the sitting of this Council to our time the lot of Ireland has been unmingled evil, and all her history a tale of woe.”†

NOT CONNECTED WITH ROME.

The letter of Henry to Pope Adrian is conclusive evidence on the subject. In that letter he alleged—“That as the Irish were *Schismatics* and *bad Christians* it was necessary to reform them and oblige them to own the Papal authority, which they had hitherto disregarded ; and that the most probable means was to bring them into subjection to the Crown of England, which,” he says, “had ever been devoted to the holy See.”‡

These statements, which might be amply confirmed from other sources, the writer is willing to leave without comment. They prove that the Primitive Free Church of Ireland, without State support, legal tithes, diocesan episcopacy, or the parochial system, proceeded just as our best missionaries have done in our own time, preaching, teaching, living the truth, in some places founding communities composed of Christian men and women bound by no monastic vows, here training the young and preparing men for the

* Essays, p. 71.

† O’Driscol, vol. ii., p. 85.

‡ Murray, p. 46.

ministry, and from these homes of piety and learning sending forth Christian women and Evangelists to subdue the ignorance and heathenism around them. And though Rome acknowledged them not, denounced them as Schismatics whose pastors were unauthorized intruders into the sacred office, possessing neither orders nor authority, yet religion extended, learning flourished, bishops abounded, they even swarmed in Britain ; men of power and consecration became missionaries to other lands, and their fame was known in most parts of Europe. Can as much be said of the Irish Church after she became a Civil Establishment ?

With confidence, warranted by authentic facts, we write again our proposition—THAT FOR 700 YEARS, WHEN THERE WAS NO ESTABLISHED CHURCH, EVANGELICAL RELIGION FLOURISHED IN IRELAND MORE THAN IT HAS DONE AT ANY SUBSEQUENT PERIOD.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PROGRESS OF FREE CHURCHES.

VI.—That the history of other churches justifies the expectation that dis-established Protestantism would be aggressive and flourishing.

We are told even by some of the ablest men among the supporters of the Irish Establishment that the consequences of dissolving the connection of the Church with the State in Ireland, and leaving her to self-government and in some measure to self-reliance, must be most deplorable—that among many undefined disasters, three especially are sure to come upon the country:—1st, The Anglicans, who are now the friends of England, will become her foes; 2nd, To a very large extent Protestant ministrations must cease, and Protestantism be swallowed up by her relentless foe, and 3rd, That Ireland will be handed over to Papal jurisdiction.

“Those who are now,” writes Dr. Alfred S. Lee, “the strength of England in Ireland, would become to her a source of perpetual weakness, those who are now her silent enemies would become her open and triumphant foes, and Rome—the only obstacle to her supremacy removed—would dictate to successive governments the terms on which peace and submission to authority could be obtained in that country, which would then no longer be merely nominally under the jurisdiction of the Pope.”

“Have those who advocate the total abolition of the revenues of the Irish Church ever seriously considered what the effect, morally, socially, and religiously must be of leaving 700,000 of their fellow Christians in Ireland totally destitute of the ordinary means of grace? The plea usually put forward that the process of dis-establishment would be gradual, and therefore comparatively innocuous, totally fails on examination. Should such a measure be carried, the Church population of a parish in Ireland would be liable to be left suddenly by the death of the incumbent without any spiritual ministrations whatever, and without any reliable means of procuring them in the future.” . . .

“The parochial system is of the essence of Church ministration. It is in this that the Church especially differs from the voluntary religious bodies which surround her. Their system is congregational, hers is parochial. ‘They follow the laws of demand and supply; the Church obeys the higher law; she follows the commandment of Christ.’ By the one system the Gospel is preached to the poor, by the other to those only who can afford to

pay for their seats, and therefore the Protestant poor of Ireland would be the great losers by any movement which would substitute the congregational for the parochial system."

"Are the poor laboring Church Protestants in the South and West of Ireland scarcely able to provide for their daily sustenance, much less to contribute to the support of their minister (for although this may be possible when the population though poor is numerous, it is quite impossible when they are few and scattered), to be left without a Church to resort to or a clergyman to minister to their spiritual needs? Are they to be deserted by that very nation to whom the Churchmen of Ireland have always looked up to with respect and affection? It must not, it cannot be."*

Although this style of utterance fills some staunch Protestants with astonishment, it must be admitted that it is the style very commonly adopted by defenders of the Establishment. It has been heard in both Houses of Parliament—falls in melancholy cadences from the chair of prelates, and Sunday after Sunday comes ringing from hundreds of pulpits over the heads of bewildered congregations.

But is it indeed true that the Anglicans of Ireland for themselves, and their advocates on this behalf, can tell us that if you take from them a monopoly of enormous privileges—if you place them, not upon a level, but something more nearly upon a level with their fellow countrymen, then they "who are now the strength of England in Ireland will become to her a source of perpetual weakness?" Is this their loyalty? their love of "Queen and Constitution," about which we hear so much? Is it nothing better than the farce of hired dancers at an Eastern wedding, or mercenary mourners at a grave? Has it nothing better to say than this,—"So long as you permit us, who are but a fraction, though the wealthiest fraction of the nation, to have our religion exclusively maintained by national property and clothed with State honours, so long as you permit our chief pastors to be dignified with baronial titles, palaces, incomes, and to hold seats in the House of Peers, and ourselves, in virtue of Government patronage, to occupy a social status above all others, we are with you—you may reckon upon us—we are your strength in Ireland; but as soon as you cease to treat us in this way of special favouritism—act with strict impartiality to all alike, though you may declare this to be essential to the welfare of the country—that moment we shall "become a source of perpetual weakness"—then look for alienations, plots, conspiracies, rebellions—then if trouble should come and foes threaten, you will know where to find us." Is that what is meant? It is what is really said. But it cannot be said with reflection; it

* Property and Statistics of Irish Church, pp. 251, 257, 258, 259, 262.

cannot be meant. The man who deliberately says that appears to me to cast reproach upon Ireland more bitter than any contained in any single fact of her mournful history, or conveyed in the allegations of her worst foes. He in effect declares that Protestant Churchmen in Ireland, notwithstanding their professions and privileges are the most worthless of men; that they are unworthy of association with the British people; for *they* amidst all their differences and defects are animated by an unpurchaseable loyalty which flourishes without favouritism, and in hundreds of thousands of their hearts has proved itself possessed of vigorous life in spite of neglect, repression, and social persecution for conscience sake.

The truth is that not a few of the sayings of the warm friends of the Irish Establishment are a slander upon the Protestant religion and upon the Irish race.

But our purpose here is to touch upon the alleged effects of dis-establishment upon Protestantism in Ireland. It is said that this will be "leaving 700,000 of their fellow Christians in Ireland totally destitute of the ordinary means of grace." "Are the poor labouring Church Protestants in the South and West of Ireland . . . to be left without a Church to resort to or a Clergyman to minister to their spiritual wants?" This will be the effect of the Church ceasing to be a State Establishment, the essence of which is the parochial system, for the voluntary system follows the law of supply and demand—that is, never sends religious ministrations except to those who are both able and willing to pay for them.

If any one doubts whether this is a just representation of Dr. Lee and many others let him read again the foregoing extracts.

What confidence in truth and in the King of Truth, and what intimate acquaintance with the history of truth, do these sayings exhibit! Why cannot these Christian men trust in something better than an arm of flesh? Why do they not get some lessons from the progress and triumph of Primitive Churches in opposition to all the powers of the world? Why not from the Primitive Church of their own country? Did that not flourish and extend as a fruitful vine sending forth its branches? Was that a State Establishment? Had it anything but free-will offerings? Had it either the parochial system or *diocesan* episcopacy? Did it follow the law of supply and demand, sending ministrations only to those who were able and willing to pay for them? It is surprising that sensible men can make such inaccurate representations as those often made of the nature and effects of the principle of voluntary church life in opposition to some of the plainest facts of history and of daily observation.

The writer has no hesitation in making the following assertion,

which he will endeavour to prove :—THAT THE GOSPEL HAS BEEN MORE EXTENSIVELY PREACHED TO THE IGNORANT OR INDIFFERENT, TO THOSE WHO WERE EITHER UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO PAY FOR IT, DURING THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS UPON THAT PRINCIPLE WHICH IS SAID TO ACT ONLY UPON THE LAW OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND THAN UPON ANY OTHER ; AND THAT THE GREATEST PROGRESS MADE BY PROTESTANT TRUTH DURING THE SAME PERIOD HAS BEEN MADE EITHER WITHOUT THE AID OF THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT AND THE STATE CHURCH PRINCIPLE OR IN OPPOSITION TO IT.

I. In proof of this consider first the progress of Nonconformists in England and Wales. We can do nothing more than state in the briefest possible forms the facts and authorities.

1689.

“The whole body of Dissenters constituted at this period about the one-hundredth portion of the inhabitants of England and Wales, or a little more than a hundred and ten thousand persons.”—*Skeat's History of the Free Churches*, p. 151.

The proof is supplied in a Return to an Order in Council, as follows :—

Province of Canterbury, Conformists	...	2,123,362
" " Nonconformists	...	95,151
" " Papists	...	11,878
Province of York ... Conformists	...	353,892
" " Nonconformists	...	15,525
" " Papists	...	1,987

—*Cole's MSS. in the British Museum*, vol. 10.

“The total number of Nonconformist places of worship licensed in the two years from A.D. 1688 to 1690 was nearly one thousand” (namely, temporary 796, permanent 153—Parliamentary Papers).—*History of the Free Churches*, p. 157.

NONCONFORMISTS, 1715-16.

“To be able to ascertain the number of Dissenters with any precision would be extremely gratifying on many accounts. But the opportunity was lost and cannot be regained. One document, however, remains, and as it is the most specific and gives the most particular and authentic information on the subject, its insertion will be agreeable to the reader, It is a list of the number of Dissenting Congregations in each county of England and Wales, which was drawn up in the years 1715 and 1716 by Daniel Neal, the author of the *History of the Puritans*. The character of the man is a voucher for its accuracy : as it was done soon after the death of Queen Anne the alterations during so short a space would be inconsiderable : and it may be looked upon as the most faithful statement which can now be given of the number of Dissenters at the close of the first period of the history.”—*Bogue and Bennet's History of Dissent*, vol. 2, pp. 98, 99.

The account follows, showing the number of congregations in each county of England and Wales, the total being in England 1,354, Wales 43.

NONCONFORMITY AT THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.

"The most accurate account which can now be obtained of the number of the Dissenting Congregations at the accession of George III. is from a more particular catalogue drawn up by Josiah Thompson, a minister of the Baptist denomination in 1772. Though it was made twelve years after the close of this period, on considering all the circumstances it seems highly probable that it contained nearly the number of congregations in 1760. Mr. Thompson's statement contains the name of every town and village where a congregation met. The total numbers are in England 1482, Wales 219."—*Bogue and Bennet's History of Dissent*, vol. 3, pp. 329, 330.

DISSENTING CONGREGATIONS IN 1808.

England	..	1583
Wales	...	419

—*Bogue and Bennet's History of Dissent*,
vol. 4, pp. 327, 328.

1809.

"It was shewn that the Free Churches were increasing in far greater proportion than the places of worship belonging to the Establishment. It appeared that in the parishes containing more than a thousand inhabitants, while there were only 2,547 places of worship connected with the Establishment, there were 3,457 places (besides many private houses for religious worship which were not enumerated) connected with the free churches. In only five dioceses did the Church possess a majority of public edifices in such times."—*Annual Register*, A.D. 1810, p. 268, *App. Skeat's Free Churches*, p. 563.

1851.

"34,467 places of worship in England; more than half that number, or 18,077, belonged to the Free Churches.

"In the manufacturing districts the Establishment was everywhere in a minority. In Wales nine-tenths of the people rejected its ministrations.

"Of the actual worshipping population of the whole country, only 52 per cent. were estimated to belong to the Established Church.

"The Congregationalists possessed 3,244 places of worship; the Baptists 2,789; the Wesleyan Methodists 6,579; and the Methodists 5,365. The Unitarians had 229, and the Society of Friends 371 places of worship."—*History of the Free Churches*, p. 623.

"It ought not to be forgotten that the rapid extension of the Free Churches of England dates no further back than the present century. Their marvellous progress since that time is thus succinctly indicated in a valuable little work on the Census of 1851, entitled *Voluntaryism in England and Wales, or the Census of 1851*. (Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.) 'While the whole population of England and Wales has increased between 1801 and 1851, 101 per cent, the sittings in all places of worship have increased 102·8, and the percentage of the sittings to population has been raised from 56·6 to 57 per cent. The proportion of the sittings provided by the Church of England and all other religious denominations respectively in 1801 were 80·8 and 19·2. The sittings provided by the Church of England in 1801 were 4,069,281, and in 1851, 5,317,915, showing an increase of 1,248,634 sittings, equivalent to 30·6 per cent; the increase of the population being 101 per cent, the increase of sittings fell short of the increase of the population 70 per cent. The sittings provided by all other denominations in 1801 were 963,169, and in 1851 4,890,482, showing an increase of 3,927,313, equivalent to 407 per cent. increase of sittings, and being in excess of the increase of the population 306 per cent.'"—*British Quarterly Review*, No. 85, p. 143, January, 1866.

"It was shown by Mr. Mann that in 1851 48 per cent. of the whole religious resources of England and Wales was provided by Non-Established Churches. Since that time, while the Established Church has advanced in the Metropolis at the rate of 25 per cent., the Non-Established Churches have increased in the ratio of over 40 per cent. Now in 1851 these two sections stood towards each other in the Metropolis in the proportion of 59 to 41. That relation is now as 56 to 44, showing a comparative gain on the part of the Non-Established Churches of 6 per cent. Though only a matter of opinion founded on partial data and a general knowledge of what has been going on throughout the country, we think it may fairly be concluded that this 6 per cent. difference as compared with 1851, would apply to England and Wales as a whole. But taking only half this percentage, the case would stand as follows:—

ENGLAND AND WALES.

	<i>Proportion of Sittings by Established Church.</i>		<i>Proportion of Sittings by Non-Established Churches.</i>	
1851	...	52	...	48
1865	...	49	...	51

If this our conjecture be correct, the aggregate members of the Non-Established Churches of England and Wales are more than equal in number to those of the Established Church."—*British Quarterly Review*, January, 1866, p. 157.

NONCONFORMIST EFFORT IN ENGLAND.

"Whereas only a century ago the Dissenting Chapels in England numbered little more than a thousand, they have since then multiplied literally twenty-fold. They voluntarily raise an annual amount of not less than three millions sterling, two millions of which being at the rate of 10s. per occupied sitting, are for their own support, and the rest for extraneous religious objects."

"An immense expenditure of voluntary effort is at present put forth on London, both by Church and Dissent. Since 1851 the Established places of worship have been increased by 95, while Nonconformists in the same period have added 124. This, compared with their respective totals, exhibits a rate of progress for the Non-Established Churches of 40·5 per cent., while that of the Church of England is only 24·9 per cent."—*Rev. John Guthrie on Church Establishments*, pp. 175, 177.

RETROSPECT.

"We have seen thus what the policy of the Anglican Church has been from the days of Elizabeth. To this hour it remains unchanged. Those old Tudor and Stuart forms of thought concerning matters, theological and ecclesiastical, are still imposed upon us. We cannot, it seems, amend what was then done. We cannot know anything which was not then known. That past must be our present. And what has followed this Chinese philosophy? Every second worshipper in the Kingdom is a Nonconformist, and a large majority of Nonconformists have come to be opposed not merely to the formularies of the Church of England, but to the principles on which all such churches rest. The action of the civil power in reference to religion in history has been such as to have forced thoughtful and conscientious men to ask many curious questions in relation to it. The result is, that in place of praying that the exercise of this sort of authority may be considerate and humane, they have come to pronounce the authority itself a mistake—a great and terrible mistake."—*Rev. Dr. Vaughan's English Nonconformity*, pp. 469, 470.

NONCONFORMITY IN WALES.

"To see at one glance the gradual progress of Nonconformity in the

Principality during the last 150 years, we give the number of congregations at four different periods :—

1716	1775	1816	1861
110	171	993	2927

The Welsh are now emphatically a nation of Nonconformists. The bulk of the very small minority who make up the congregations of the Established Church are emigrants from England and some Anglicized Welshmen."—*Rees' Nonconformity in Wales*, p. 485.

In 1715 "we may safely calculate that fifty thousand or about one-eighth of the population of Wales were Nonconformists."—*Rees*, p. 293.

1860.

	Chapels.		Members.		Hearers Excl. of Members.
Independents ...	766	...	97,647	...	104,351
(In addition to Preaching stations) ...	100				
Calvinistic Methodists	937	...	90,560	...	173,584
Baptists ...	506	...	50,903	...	...
Wesleyan Methodists	533	...	24,395	...	...
Primitive Methodists...	100	...	...	...	11,000
Wesleyan Association	48				
Unitarians ...	7	...	...	...	650

—*Rees*, p. 582.

"The population in 1851 was 1,118,914, and the total number of places of worship 4,006, of which the Established Church furnished only 1180, while Nonconformists furnished 2,826, or more than two to one. The total number of sittings was close upon a million, of which the Church furnished about 300,000, or 30 per cent., while the Nonconformists furnished nearly 700,000, or 70 per cent. Assuming with Mr. Horace Mann that there should be accommodation for 58 per cent. of the population—which in Wales would be 689,569—the Church falls short of the demand by 387,672 sittings, while Dissent alone actually exceeds it by 2,770. On 31st March, 1851, there were present of the worshipping population of Wales 21 per cent. in the Established Churches and 79 per cent. in their Dissenting Chapels, the Nonconformist attendance thus outnumbering that of the Church in the proportion of nearly four-fifths to one-fifth. Since that time, that Welsh dissent still holds its own, is sufficiently plain from the fact that since 1851 somewhere about 300 new chapels have been built or old ones enlarged."—*Rev. H. Richard's Letters on Wales*.

All this growth has taken place in spite of odium, persecution, and social repression such as few persons in the present day have any idea of. It was not till 1812 that the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts were repealed. It was not till 1828 that the Test and Corporation Acts were, after earnest opposition on the part of Lord Eldon and others, repealed. Before that no Nonconformist could enter Parliament, be Mayor of any Borough, member of any Town Council, or hold any corporate office whatever—not even the post of parish constable could be entrusted to them. Not till 1836 could they be legally married or their children legally regis-

tered, unless they resorted for the purpose to the parish church. Not till the establishment of the London University, about 30 years ago, could any Nonconformist minister or layman, however learned he might be, obtain any English literary degree. Certainly Churches may grow without State aid.

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

“Disruption in 1843—478 Ministers or nearly one-half left the Established Church. By 1861, eighteen years after their origin, they had spent in buildings alone nearly a million and a half sterling, and since that time this amount has been greatly increased. The *Free Church Monthly Review* for July, 1866, says, ‘This is the greatest year, financially, since the disruption. Hitherto the disruption year has stood out pre-eminent : and when one recollects the great efforts and sacrifices which were then made—especially for building purposes, for which there was raised in that year alone £227,836, it might have been expected to continue long unrivalled. The present year, however, has surpassed it, and by no less a sum than £19,700, while it exceeds the immediately preceding years (1864-5) by £25,374.’ The total revenue for the past year amounts to £383,572 4s. 10d.—*Rev. John Guthrie on Church Establishments*, pp. 199.

II. Still more remarkable is the progress of religion in the United States, where there is no Established Church. The Rev. Henry B. Smith, D.D., a man having a high reputation for the extent and accuracy of his information read a report on the state of religion in the United States of America at the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance at Amsterdam, 1867. From that Report the following remarkable statements are taken :—

“The war of the Revolution left the churches eighty years back enfeebled and distracted, for they were then entering upon the untried career of separation from the State. Our distinctive American Christianity has been built up on the basis of that separation, and now after a sterner trial than ever before, we are more than ever convinced that for the churches of our land this is the way of safety and of growth. There was here no precedent, and no analogy. Those accustomed to the compact external unity of a State Church might easily hope or fear that our many external divisions were signs of internal weakness, and that we should be disintegrated by the violence of the civil commotion and strife. Of this fear we were not ourselves conscious : and the progress of events has shown that the ecclesiastical tendencies in the midst of our civil strife have looked in the direction of reunion rather than of increased subdivisions.

“The special and determining characteristic of our American Christianity, growing out of the very necessities of our history, is found in the separation of Church and State—which separation in its last grounds rests on the one hand upon the principle of religi-

ous liberty, and on the other upon a confidence in the self-sustaining power of Christianity itself.

"This separation does not imply indifference, still less opposition. Legally, it means simply the non-recognition of any form of Christianity as established by the State. But the State still guaranteed to all our Churches their legal rights. The general Government also recognizes the Christian religion in various ways ; it administers oaths of office ; it honours the Christian Sabbath, both Houses of Congress are daily opened with prayer, it appoints chaplains for the army and navy—500 were under appointment at one time during the late war. President Lincoln issued an army order for the observance of the Sabbath, and he repeatedly appointed days of fasting and supplication and thanksgiving, which were solemnly observed by all our Churches. A movement is now on foot to procure a more express recognition of the Christian religion in our Constitution. The individual States too aid in various ways institutions and objects not only of a benevolent but also of a specific Christian character, and as society is more and more penetrated by the Christian system, the laws and the institutions of the State will come into more entire accord with the fundamental principles of the Kingdom of God." . . .

"Notwithstanding the diversities of name and external order, we are agreed on the main articles of our common evangelical Christianity, and the sense of this unity is increasingly felt. At least three-fourths of our entire population are under the dominant influence of the chief Protestant Churches—the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, the Methodists and Baptists, the Episcopalian, the Lutheran, the German, the Dutch Reformers—to name no other. And as a simple matter of fact, the *largest development and increase of Christianity in the nineteenth century has been found in the United States.* The Methodists have increased in communicants from 15,000 to about 2,000,000 ; the Baptists from 35,000 to about 1,700,000 ; the Congregationalists from 75,000 to 275,000 ; the Lutherans number over 300,000, and the German Reformed more than 100,000. And each of these Churches reaches a population about four times as large as the number of its Church members.

"That the voluntary principle, which is the necessary logical result of the separation of Church and State, is favourable to our progress, appears from the following statistics. According to the United States Census for 1860 there were then 54,000 church edifices in the country erected wholly by voluntary contributions, at an estimated value of 171,390,432 dollars, and *the number of these churches had increased 50 per cent., and their value doubled in the previous ten years.* There was an average of one church to 544

persons. The total church accommodation was 12,875,119, or about one sitting to every two and a half of the entire population. (Of these edifices the Methodists had 19,883 at an average value of 2,000 dollars; the Baptists 11,211, of the value of 1,700 dollars each; the Presbyterians and Congregationalists 8,953, of the value 5,500 dollars, &c.) The increase in Church membership has outrun, in spite of the influx of foreign population, the relative increase of the population; in 1800 the total population was 5,305,935, and the number of Church members was 350,000; in 1832 the population was 13,614,420, Church members 1,348,948; in 1860 the population was 31,429,801, Church members 5,035,250. That is, the ratio in 1800 was one communicant to about fifteen of the population; in 1832 it was one in ten; in 1860 one to six. While the population increased six-fold, the Church membership increased more than fourteen-fold. And this too, notwithstanding the fact that during the last period (from 1832 to 1860) the number of aliens arriving at our ports was over four millions; and Texas, New Mexico, and California were added to our territory. The proportional increase since 1860 has probably been greater, for the immigration has been much less. This estimation does not include the Roman Catholics, who may number three and a half millions. A larger proportionate increase is also found in our benevolent and missionary contributions."

The writer gives the statistics of different denominations, of which the following is a condensed summary:—

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH last year celebrated the centenary of its introduction into the country. Proposing to raise a thank-offering of a million, its receipts have come near to four millions. The Northern Church reports 64 Annual Conferences, 13,172 preachers, 1,039,184 Church members, 10,462 church buildings, of the value of 30,000,000 of dollars; 25 colleges and theological schools. The Church of the South has about 700,000 communicants. There are other branches of Methodists, which being included the total Methodist Church membership is found to be more than two millions.

BAPTISTS.—Numbers, 2,335,396. Churches, 17,220. Theological schools, 11. Periodicals 23. Subscriptions amounting to more than a million of dollars have been made for the Baptist Colleges and Seminaries. In Canada and the West Indies 120,787 members and more than 905 churches.

THE PRESBYTERIANS in 1867 had 77 synods, 385 presbyteries, 6,499 churches, 4,262 ministers, 586,506 communicants. And these numbers are probably far below the facts. There are 340 churches and 4 presbyteries from which there is no report.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS had in 1867, 2,900 churches, 3,009 ministers, 272,974 members. The gain last year was 60 churches, 3,913 members, 28 ministers. Amount of contributions reported, 1,024,720 dollars, but there was no report from thirteen States.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH has 421 synods, 1,644 ministers, 2,915 congregations, 323,825 communicants, 29 periodicals, 15 Theological Schools, and 17 Colleges.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH numbers 34 dioceses, 44 bishops, 2,416 priests and deacons, 2,305 parishes, 161,234 communicants, 151,819 Sunday School scholars. In 1866 the contributions exceeded three millions of dollars.

THE REFORMED PROTESTANT DUTCH CHURCH.—Churches 444, ministers 461, communicants 57,846, Sunday School scholars 46,411; contributions, 1,053,189 dollars.

GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH, 1866.—2 synods, 29 classes, 476 ministers, 1,162 churches, 109,258 communicants, 5 colleges, 3 theological seminaries, 9 periodicals. Contributions, 160,882 dollars.

THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST.—4,255 preaching places, 3,297 societies, 91,570 members. Contributions, 341,279 dollars.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.—43 Dioceses, 3 vicariates apostolic, 43 bishops, 3,795 clergymen, 49 Institutions, 29 colleges, 134 schools for girls, 66 asylums, 26 hospitals.

THE QUAKERS [orthodox] number 54,000. The Hicksites 40,000. In Philadelphia they recently contributed 125,000 dollars for a school for coloured children.

Such has been the wonderful progress of religion where State aid is unknown; can anything like a parallel be found in connection with the wealthiest State Establishment in the world. Moreover, institutions for higher education have come to be for the most part dependent upon voluntary support. "And it might well have been feared that when the country was absorbed in a vast war laying strong hands on all its resources, the more remote interests of education (which is essentially a provision for future needs and well-being,) would at least for a time be neglected. But the contrary has been the fact. Never have our spontaneous offerings for higher education been as large, never have they increased in such proportion as during the years in which we were struggling for national existence. And this is another evidence of the safety of the voluntary principle among a people trained thereto. The total amount thus given during the past four years cannot be less than seven or eight millions of dollars."

"There has also been a like advance in the receipts of our chief, philanthropic and Missionary Associations during the past few years. Into all the details connected with these organizations it would be impracticable to enter. I have compared the aggregate receipts of about twenty-five of them, as given in the reports of 1866, with the amounts reported in 1860—the year after and the year before the war. And the result is that about two and a quarter millions were given in 1860, and something over five millions in the last year."

"Such is the marvellous commingling of churches in the midst of which we live and labour. But in all this diversity of tongues, there is still one language. We have one Lord, one faith, and one baptism. Our differences are chiefly external and superficial, our union is internal and vital. The tendencies to reunion

are growing in all the denominations. The centrifugal force has well nigh spent itself, and the centripetal is beginning to claim its rights."

Now it should be kept in mind that all this progress is taking place in a country which is receiving emigrants from other lands—many of them ignorant and irreligious—at the rate of a thousand a day.

The appended testimonies concerning the Episcopal Church in the United States are especially worthy of notice. The Hon. George Bancroft, in the ninth volume of his *History* says,—“The complete separation of the Church and State by the establishment of perfect religious equality was followed by the wonderful result, that the separation was approved of everywhere, always, and by all. The old Anglican Church, which became known as the Protestant Episcopal, wished to preserve its endowments, and might complain of their impairment; but it preferred ever after to take care of itself, and was glad to share in that equality which dispelled the dread of Episcopal tyranny, and left it free to perfect its organization according to its own desires.”

The following speech was delivered at a meeting of a Church Defence Association at Cambridge, on the 14th of November, 1866, by the Bishop of Illinois :—

“The Bishop of Illinois said his duty was to give them some detail of the manner in which the laity of the Episcopal Church of America took part in the legislative departments of that Church. But before doing so, he must premise, first that the circumstances under which the Church existed in the new world were entirely different from those under which it existed in the Old; and he would remind them that there was a vast difference between building a new church and repairing an old one; so that there might be many changes which it might not be well suddenly to introduce into the Church of England; and therefore, whatever he said, must be taken on the simple ground that he desired to render what information he could respecting the Church with which he was connected. In the next place the Church of the United States was entirely dissociated from the civil power; there was no connection between the Episcopal or any other Church and the State. Its government was left entirely to itself, though the Christian religion was acknowledged in the oaths of those who held office, and in the opening of Congress by reading prayers. They had neither endowment nor protection from the State, and they even had to settle for themselves questions relating to Church property, except when those questions were in conflict with the law of the land. Hence, whatever was their hereditary character, they were simply a sect among sects. Thirdly, with them everything was voluntary;

they had no endowments or hereditary relations ; in many cases they had nothing to begin with, and they might be described as living from hand to mouth. They lived by faith—faith that God would take care of the cause of His dear Son, and that he would open the hands and hearts of His people to sustain the great claim of the Gospel of Christ. In the United States people were not compelled to support religion of any kind. In the next place, with them everything was elective. The people originated everything. The bishops were elected by the diocesan synod, or Convention, as they called it, and this was a mixture of clergy and laity. Each parish elected its own minister, who was referred to the bishop for his approval. Next they were federal, like everything else in the United States ; they had a General Convention consisting of two houses—in the upper house sat the bishops, missionary as well as diocesan ; and in the lower house sat four clergymen and four laymen from every diocese in the United States ; the same number was sent from each diocese quite irrespective of its size. The lower house sat with open doors ; the upper house with closed. Nothing was passed without the approval of both houses. An alteration in the Liturgy had to be approved by both houses, and then sent down to every convention in the country, by whom it was returned for the next meeting (after a lapse of three years) ; and it then rested with the General Convention for final approval or rejection. He mentioned this to show how careful they were about introducing changes. As to the diocesan relations, the diocesan synod met once a year, of which the bishop was, *virtute officii*, president, and at which the clergy and three laymen from every parish assembled, so that the laity had their full share in the executive and legislative departments of the diocese. Then in every diocese they had a standing committee, consisting of four clergymen and four laymen from each of the smaller parishes, and three clergymen and three laymen from each of the smaller dioceses. Here again there was an equality of both orders. The office of this committee was to be employed as a council of advice to the bishop, by whom it might be convoked. Amid singular disadvantages they had found their system act admirably ; and especially should be remembered, the general prevalence of what would here be called Radical feelings, and which were not favourable to the progress of such work. Having thus explained the relation which the laity had in the executive and legislative functions of the Church, it was only right he should tell them what had been the experience of the Church in this particular. It had had a fair trial under very disadvantageous circumstances, and he was bound to say the introduction of the lay element had proved entirely successful. He would now inform them of the co-relative advan-

tages which grew out of the system of the blending of the laity with the clergy in the management of the affairs of the Church. In the first place it made the laity intelligent in all the Church's affairs. They became so complete a part and parcel of its whole that they grew with its growth ; they knew its wants and feelings, and they consequently felt a desire to advocate the rights and interests of the Church of God. This direct agency by the laity called forth Christian charity. The laity became familiar with the trials and troubles of the Church, as well as with its practical working ; and this knowledge challenged from them a larger liberality, and connected them closer to the Church because they were one with it. The next point in connection with lay administration was, that where it assumed a mere voluntary relation. That was, how far the laity could be invoked as assistants to the ministry in their peculiar work. In this respect the Church in America was only in the beginning of its work. They found a difficulty in getting laymen for the work. Their system was this : they employed lay readers who had to perform all the services of the Church, with the exception of reading the absolution and the blessing, and they could read no sermon of their own. These laymen were therefore enabled to supply nearly all the service without interfering with the strict duties of the minister. The Bishop concluded by paying a high compliment to the Church of England, observing that the sister Church in America looked with admiration at the large donations and liberal gifts which the Church of England now and again obtained. They (the American Episcopalians) were but learners in many things of the Church in England, and he was sure that in matters of voluntary and personal benevolence the Church of England had no reason to be ashamed."

Do not such facts as these justify the confident expectation that the Church in Ireland rejoicing in the liberty wherewith Christ has made her free, and relying upon him for success, would be aggressive and flourishing ?

III. Yet more remarkable and cheering are the facts connected with the progress of English Protestant Missions in heathen lands during the present century. The following is a brief summary of the agency, the income, and the results so far as they appear in the number of members or communicants :—

SUMMARY OF MISSIONARY WORK.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Agents—European and Native</i>		<i>Mens. or Communicants.</i>	<i>Attendants.</i>	<i>Income.</i>
Propagation Society ...	517 Clergymen	671 Readers, Catechists, & Schoolmasters	40,581*	.	+ £91,186
Church Missionary Society	190 Missionaries	1938 Native catechists, &c.	14,339*		145,386
Wesleyan "	1011 Missionaries and assistant agents	1630 Catechists, &c.	148,900		148,140
London "	169 Missionaries	1400 Helpers	17,029 on trial 26,000	150,000	100,120
Baptist "	60 Native pastors 62 Missionaries	213 Native preachers	6,334		30,103
General Baptist Mis. Society	7 "	18 "	418	737	4,340
Free Methodist Mis. Society	25 "		5,030		5,003
Church of Scotland Mis. So.	7 "	40 "	250		9,701
Free Church Mis. Society	281 Christian agents		1,468 Communicants. 1,179 Baptized adherents.		31,829
United Presbyterian Mis. So.	40 "	131 "	5,615		20,184
			367,143		£585,992

* Imperfect—no returns from many stations.

+ Not including payments from Government.

CHAPTER X.

VII. — That practically our choice appears to lie between two or three Establishments and none.

Shall we maintain the present Established Church in Ireland? Or shall we level up Roman Catholics and Presbyterians to an equality with it, and thus have three State Establishments side by side in the same country? Or shall we maintain no State Church at all? Only these three courses are open, which shall we take?

Our purpose here is to point to what seems to preclude the first—to show that you cannot take that—consequently you must establish all or none. And if that be the case there can be little doubt what the country will prefer.

But we are met by a parliamentary objection. It is said by Dr. Begg, and sent round the country endorsed by the Protestant Association as a thing of great weight, that either to establish all denominations or not to establish any is a policy of indifference—that indifference is sin—and that you are not warranted to say to any man that he is under the necessity of taking a course which is sinful.

But the argument, if argument it can be called, is utterly fallacious; for may not a Statesman be anything but indifferent to religion and yet be of opinion that it is either not possible or not wise to uphold an Established Church. Would it be just to say that a ruler is indifferent to the clothing of the people if he does not set up national clothing establishments; or to their food if he does not maintain granaries and butchers shops; or to the national industry unless he keeps up all kinds of workshops throughout the country? Profoundly interested in these things, he may see that his own wishes may be best carried out by encouraging the people to clothe and feed themselves; and in like manner he may see that the interests of religion will be best promoted by government abstaining from establishing any particular Church, while governors endeavour to set the example of Christian lives.

It may be permitted to ask the men who argue after this style, if they intend to say that *under all circumstances*, a statesman or ruler is bound to maintain a State Establishment of religion? The reply must be Yes or No. If Yes, then of course the Governors Generals of India, the Governors of Canada and of our other Colonies, and the President of the United States, are bound to set up a State Church; and, not doing so, however godly may be their lives, and however extensive their influence as christian men,

they are chargeable with the sin of indifference to the kingdom of Christ. But if the answer be No, rulers are not in all cases obliged to set up State Establishments of religion, then our reply is—You are begging the whole question in saying that if our Statesmen do not maintain the Irish Church they will be guilty of the sin of indifference, for the circumstances may be just those which would make it their duty not to do so.

But if a Statesman is not bound in every case, regardless of circumstances, to maintain a State Church—if this is admitted to be a duty only sometimes—then his wisdom is to take the course which, all things considered, is, first, possible ; second, best.

Now, as it seems to us, there is a sentiment in the country, becoming daily more deep and strong, in favour of religious equality, which will make it impossible to maintain the Protestant Establishment in Ireland except upon condition of making the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches State Establishments also. If you are disposed to put all upon a level by disestablishment you may, but it must be favours to none, or favours to all ;—favouritism to the wealthy few at the expense of the poor and struggling many, the prevailing and resistless sentiment in favour of equality will not permit. Among indications of the strength of this sentiment we may mention

1. The course of legislation for many years past.

Our limits will not permit a detail of movements and measures, but it may suffice to point to such facts as the following :—That the grants to Roman Catholics out of the public funds have been steadily increasing, so that they now amount, according to Dr. Begg, to something near £350,000 per annum ; that the appointment of Roman Catholic chaplains in the army, and in prisons, &c., takes place now almost without comment ; that whatever is advanced in either House of Parliament in support of additional privileges to Roman Catholics is almost sure to obtain a favourable hearing ; that concessions are equally made, whatever political party may be in power ; that no attempt has ever been made to enforce the provisions of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and that the principle generally acknowledged and acted upon in our colonies is this principle of equality—government supporting all or none. These are plain, unquestionable facts—are they not significant ? With these facts before you, can you expect to repeal the Maynooth grant and all other grants out of public funds, or even to prevent further and larger grants, while you maintain the Protestant Establishment in Ireland ?

2. The conclusion is warranted by the utterances of public men and the proposals of the present Conservative government.

The point here to be marked is that the dominant idea in the

minds of leading men of all parties is the necessity of placing the adherents of the principal denominations in Ireland upon a footing of equality. We concern not ourselves with the particular measures which they advocate, but only with the fact that this is the end at which they aim. For many years this idea of equality has been put prominently forward by men eminent in the State as the only sound basis of legislation for Ireland.

In a debate on the Irish Church in the year 1845, the late Earl Grey, who was the Prime Minister of England at the passing of the Reform Bill, said:—"I have always regarded the maintenance of the Irish Church on its present footing as contrary to every principle of justice and policy. I believe in my conscience the maintenance of that Church has been the great obstacle to the spread of the Protestant religion. . . . I believe the Church of Ireland is the main source of all that misgovernment and oppression under which the Irish for nearly three centuries have suffered."*

"There is," said Mr. Grote in 1834, "but one case in all European experience in which the greater portion of the Church Temporalities has devolved—not to the Government—not to the majority of the people, but to the religion of a small and considerable minority ;—that case is the Church of Ireland."†

Lord Howick said in 1844, "They must do full and equal justice to the people of Ireland, but how was this to be accomplished?" They might make the Roman Catholic Church the Established Church; or they might have no Establishment at all; or they might make provision for the spiritual wants of the people in proportion to their number," adding "Any of these modes of proceeding would carry into effect the principle for which he was contending. They must be prepared to deal with the question on the principle of extending to the Catholic faith every advantage they would extend to others. . . . They must do so unless they were prepared that all the past dangers, and which now prevailed in Ireland, should continue. . . . The right hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel) had in his speech told the House that this Church question was at the bottom of all differences of opinion. It was so, and of all the difficulties they felt in carrying on the government of Ireland."‡

In the same debate on the state of Ireland, Mr. Bellew said :—"The Church was pre-eminently the question on which the whole government of Ireland, for good or evil, must turn, and till that was satisfactorily arranged it was impossible that peace or contentment could prevail. . . . He thought the State should pro-

* Hansard, vol. 79, p. 1274, † Mirror of Parliament, vol. 3, p. 1936.

‡ Times, 11th Feb., 1844.

tect and patronise the three great denominations in Ireland equally, and he believed that a large number of the most respectable Presbyterians and Dissenters in Ireland were prepared to see that question fairly settled."

Mr. Hume said :—"With regard to the Church, how was it possible for the people of Ireland to be satisfied with the Church as it was? Scotland had her own Church, England had her own Church; how could Ireland be expected to be satisfied with a Protestant Church while the vast majority of the inhabitants were Roman Catholics?" *

Earl Russell has recently given expression to his former and his present views, in the following terms :—"I think the people of Ireland are entitled to have all the subjects of her Majesty in that country placed on a footing of equality, and it is to me rather a secondary question whether that equality should be obtained by the endowment of all the different communions or by the dis-endowment of all. Gentlemen, I do not disguise my preference on that subject, but I say at once that, as I perceive that the people in general of England and Scotland—the Protestant people of England and Scotland—do not wish to endow all these communions, and that on the other hand the Roman Catholics of Ireland do not wish to accept any endowment, I at once discard any preference of my own, and decide for dis-endowment. That is the sense of Mr. Gladstone's resolution."—*St. James's Hall, 16th April, 1868.*

Mr. Gladstone, speaking in the recent debates of the proposals of the Government, said,—“An earnest of these plans was given in the shape of a proposal with respect to a Roman Catholic University; and their general character was indicated in two parts of the speech of the noble Earl—one in which he stated that a grant made to the Presbyterians under the name of the *Regium Donum* was miserable in amount and inadequate for the purpose, and would require to be considerably increased; and the other, in which going beyond the case of the Presbyterians, he recognised fully, and of course in the main with reference to the Roman Catholics, the doctrine of religious equality for Ireland; and said there would be no objection on the part of Her Majesty's government to establish religious equality in that country, provided it were done by giving and not taking away. I apprehend there can be no serious debate or division of opinion on the meaning of those very important words. The meaning was that the government recommended us to proceed to the removal of anomalies in Ireland by the method of concurrent endowment, of establishing by means of public funds other endowed churches in addition to that which now

* *Times*, 23 Feb., 1844.

existed; and that the position of the Government may be fairly considered as thus defined. To that method of proceeding it appeared to us that there were insurmountable objections. We are entirely at one with the Government, although I do not know how far we are at one with the bulk of those that sit behind them; *but we are at one with the Government with respect to the adoption of the principle of religious equality in Ireland.* We think, however, that the attempts to found a variety of churches in Ireland, either at the public charge or even by a division of the ecclesiastical property, is a plan diametrically and fundamentally opposed to the sentiments and convictions of the great mass of the population of Great Britain; while on the part of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, who form the bulk of the population, such plan has been generally and emphatically repudiated. We propose therefore to deal with the matter in a manner opposite to the plan of the government, and to obtain the great aim for religious equality for Ireland, which we have in view in common with the members of the Cabinet, by another process, which is generally known as the method of dis-establishment and general dis-endowment.”*

To this should be added the following words spoken by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, 2nd of April,—“In my opinion, any plan, such as I have been endeavouring to lay the basis and foundation of, must include provisions for the relief and the entire relief, whether immediate or not of the Consolidated Fund, from all charges either for the Maynooth Grant or any other religious principle.”†

Earl Granville says,—“Lord Mayo’s statement was substantially to the effect that Government meant to endow a Roman Catholic University to let the college question wait. . . . The noble lord’s policy was to make all churches in Ireland equal, to follow in fact the plan of levelling up as it was called. The noble lord had no definite plan, but he sketched out the outline of a concurrent endowment of Protestant and Roman Catholic churches. There was, it was true, a contradiction of that statement, about two months after it was made, but during the whole interval the public were misled as to the intentions of the Government.”‡

Mr. Baxter,—“The question lay between disendowment and indiscriminate endowment.”||

Lord E. Cavendish,—“The Secretary for Ireland had

* *Standard*, 23rd May, 1868.

† *Standard*, April 3, 1868.

‡ Debate on “Irish Church Suspensory Bill,” House of Lords, *Daily News*, 26th June, 1868.

|| House of Commons, May 1, 1868.

talked of 'levelling up,' and what could that mean but the endowment of Roman Catholics."*

Mr. Young,—“The Government admitted that religious equality did not exist in Ireland; and they proposed to produce it by levelling upwards. The right hon. gentleman, as the head of the government, said that the policy of the government was ‘to create, not to destroy.’”†

Lord Elcho,—“Apply the principle of levelling up to the Irish, and what did it mean? As far as he understood, it must mean, sooner or later, an endowment of the Roman Catholic Church—of a Roman Catholic University—and giving the status to the Roman Catholic priests in Ireland, a status which they must all rejoice to see had already been given to Cardinal Cullen by his being invited to dine with the Lord Lieutenant. Would that give religious equality? Certainly not. What religious equality would there be unless Roman Catholic Bishops got a seat in the House of Lords, and unless the Lord Lieutenant might be a Roman Catholic.”‡

The Rev. Mr. MacCreedy, a recipient of the Regium Donum, —“I am not one of those who contemplate with dismay the projected ecclesiastical changes in this country. The present state of things is indefensible and untenable, and if the only remedy be religious equality, relatively to the State, I prefer dis-establishment and dis-endowment to indiscriminate endowment.”||

P. Dawson, Esq., in the House of Commons,—“As a resident Irishman, deeply interested in the prosperity of the country, he should be willing that the Reformed Parliament should consider what modifications might fairly be introduced in regard to the status of the three existing Churches in Ireland, and he should be glad to see a satisfactory arrangement made for adequately endowing both the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches, though this should be done without entrenching on the revenues of the Established Church.”§

Clergymen eminent in the Irish Church advocate the same views.

The Rev. James Byrne, M.A., examining chaplain of the Lord Bishop of Derry, says,—“If, then, the Establishment of one Church with a view to bring over the other religious bodies into conformity with it be, as regards this end, useless, and if the voluntary system be both defective and pernicious, there only remains, as a mode of dealing with the aggregate of the religious bodies, the system of general endowment. And our axiom, ap-

* *Daily News*, 26th June, 1868.

† *Daily News*, 26 June, 1868.

‡ House of Commons.—*Daily News*.

|| *Independent*, 5th June, 1868.

§ *Standard*, 1st April, 1868.

plied to the present religious condition of the country, points it out as the duty of the State to adopt this system, as that without which the universality and permanence of the beneficial influences of religion cannot be adequately secured nor their quality maintained. As far as the effects of any political measure can be foreseen it would seem that this should be the most beneficial and healing measure which could possibly be passed for the United Kingdom in general and Ireland in particular." . . .

"Now no doubt a Protestant legislature must wish to have the Roman Catholics converted to Protestantism, or at least the evil qualities of the Romish system reduced. But under the guidance of this very principle what ought it to do? It cannot by legislature bring the Roman Catholics to conformity. Ought it not, then, to adopt the method which tends to mitigate the evil that Romanism involves, and which at least leaves the prospect of their conversion as hopeful as any other method which could be adopted? That which the State would in fact maintain by the endowment would be the effect which the endowment would produce, and that would be not Romanism, but an amelioration of it."

Again, "the exclusive Establishment of the Irish Reformed Church was the method of conciliating the civil and religious influences which the ideas of the time rendered necessary; just as now the continued establishment of the same Church as the Church of the leaders of the nation's civilization, concurrently with the general endowment of the other religious bodies, seems to be the best mode of combining with our civilization the spirit of christianity."

III. These utterances in favour of the principle of equality are in full harmony with the strong and irrepressible feelings of the Irish people, and represent the sentiments of certainly not less than one-half of the inhabitants of Great Britain. If, as Sir Robert Peel said in 1834, the Irish Church was at the bottom of the difficulties of governing Ireland, it was because that Church was felt by the people to be a grievous wrong. But have these feelings changed? Have they not become deeper and more general? Have they not rendered necessary a considerable standing army in addition to a force of armed and drilled police, such as we maintain in no other part of the British dominions? and of late the almost continued suspension of what Englishmen regard as their dearest rights, in order to keep down discontent threatening to burst out into civil war? What will you do? Will you remove discontent by removing its principal cause? or will you battle with it and try to break it down by physical force, and thus have at your side a foe waiting for the moment of your peril, as the opportunity of retaliation, in place of a warm-hearted and vigorous ally?

But must we give way to every demand of the Irish people, whatever it may be? Certainly not. But two things should be considered. 1st, Is the demand founded in justice and favourable to the peace and welfare of the country? and 2nd, Does it secure the sanction of any considerable portion of the people of Great Britain? Now it is not too much to say that something has been advanced in the foregoing pages tending to show that the measure desired would by its very justice promote the peace of the country and the interests of the Protestant religion. And certainly the sentiments of a very large proportion of the British people are in harmony with the measure. Are not the large majorities in the House of Commons, upon a question so momentous, a proof that Mr. Gladstone's proposals fell in with and expressed a deep popular feeling? No mere scheme for the overthrow of a Ministry could have produced such results in Parliament and in the country. If you believe it to have been a party move, you must admit that it owed its great success to the sentiment to which it appealed, even more than to the skill of the general in the use of the forces which it placed at his disposal. And look at the press of the country—is not its power, especially in newspapers, magazines, and reviews, on this side? Do not popular gatherings show that the popular current runs in this direction? And will not the Report of the Irish Church Commission, just issued, give to it additional strength? It recommends that one archbishopric and four bishoprics be abolished, and that the stipends of the remaining eight prelates (excepting Dublin) be reduced to £3,000 per annum, with £500 additional when attending Parliament; that twenty-two out of thirty deaneries and cathedral bodies be abolished, also seventeen out of thirty-three archdeaconries; and that all benefices, in royal or ecclesiastical patronage, not having a Protestant population of forty persons, be suppressed; of these benefices there are stated to be 199. Prior to 1834 it was said by the defenders of the Irish Establishment that it was not so successful as it should be, partly because it had not enough bishops and other officers, and partly because it was too poor to meet the requirements of the country—what will they now say to this Report of a Commission consisting chiefly of their own friends? What will the general public think when they find that Commission expressing the opinion that from £32,000 to £33,000 per annum is sufficient to pay for the episcopal supervision of the Irish Church; whereas the cost of that supervision, which is now about £51,000, was before the year 1834, £151,000 per annum, so that for generations nearly £121,000 a year has been unnecessarily expended in the payment of bishops. In like manner prior to 1834 thirty deans and capitular bodies enjoyed incomes amounting to £152,666

per annum ; now the Commission say that eight of these corporate dignitaries will suffice, and if we suppose these eight to divide among them £32,666, then we are conducted by the Commission to the conclusion that for time out of mind £120,000 a year has been wasted upon superfluous dignitaries in the Irish Church, so that upon bishops and dignitaries together there has been a superfluous expenditure of £240,000 a year. Moreover, out of 1,385 benefices there are 199 in royal and ecclesiastical patronage—how many in private patronage we are not told—which not having forty Protestants ought to be suppressed.

If the friends of the Church, as they termed themselves, who so vigorously denounced the Church Temporalities Act of 1834 as gross blundering, and wicked spoliation, were so much mistaken then, as the present Commission warrants us to conclude, the public will be apt to think they may be mistaken now ; and not a few of those who feel most profoundly interested in the welfare of the Protestant Church in Ireland—among whom we place ourselves—will be inclined to consider that the best thing for that Church will be to give her whatever property she can rightfully claim, together with freedom from Parliamentary Commissions and political tinkering and the full right to regulate her movements and fulfil her mission according to her own sense of duty. If by this she loses some amount of worldly wealth, she will gain immensely in higher riches.

Among Irish Churchmen there are men who can look with hope and confidence to the future. The Dean of Cork (Dr. Magee), in a speech delivered at Salisbury last year, after observing that some of the most interesting questions affecting the Church were being worked out in the Colonies, and that the history of the connection of Church and State might be summed up in the same words as the history of an unfortunate marriage, said, speaking of the probable separation,—“He for one should deplore the separation, he for one believed there were many and great blessings arising to the State from its union with the Church. And on the other hand he believed that there were blessings, not perhaps the greatest, arising to the Church from its union with a Christian State, though more precious things than even that union were not to be sacrificed because of and for that union—but he did say with all his heart, and soul, and might, that all the wealthy establishments in the world were not to be set in competition in the first place with the truth which the Church was bound to uphold, and in the second place with that inherent liberty and the right to govern, without the possession of which the Church must at last cease to be able to testify to the truth. Then it came to this, that if the wedded husband of the Church declared that the union that bound them together was

no longer to continue he was bound to give back to the Church her freedom of speech, her right of self-government, the control of her own affairs, and to make her free even if he made her poor. Even if the State kept the dowry of wealth, let it give back to the Church the dowry of freedom and the dowry of free speech, and then God speed the right. He was not afraid for the future ; that divorce might impoverish, but it could not disgrace the Church. He felt strongly, speaking as an Irish Churchman, and he might perhaps be pardoned for one moment if he returned to that which must be uppermost in the mind of every true Churchman—the future of his own Church. He felt most deeply and most strongly that the Irish Church, which was nothing in truth but a Colonial Church—and it would be well if English statesmen would remember that fact—he felt most deeply, he repeated, that whatever the difficulty, whatever the poverty, whatever the distress, whatever the trial which awaited that Church in the future, Irish Churchmen, and he trusted even English Churchmen, would make the claim for the Irish Church, that if she was to be deprived of her endowments and her local *status* as an Established Church, there would be given back to her, as we should give back to the Churches in the colonies, the right of self-government, the freedom of property, if they were not to have the embarrasments and the dignity of wealth and station. Even if the Church should be deprived of her endowments, there might be a glorious future for her ; there might be a faithful and a successful testimony bringing about greater results in times to come than may even spring from misapplied and wasted wealth. He believed the Church in Ireland and the Church in the Colonies, and possibly even yet our great powerful and prosperous Church in England, might be put to try this issue, whether no union with the State were incompatible with faithfulness to God, with the testimony of truth to Christ, and with the great duty of preserving and spreading the truth, whether the Church should not demand that separation from the State, and with that separation the rights and privileges which it brought with it at that union with the State.”

This, or the “levelling up” of Roman Catholics and Presbyterians to her own status must be the result of present discussions : and even after such levelling she would have only a precarious existence, destitute of conscious dignity, made miserable by a sense of bondage and the perpetual intermeddling of her political masters.

CHAPTER XI.

VIII.—That National Religion is essential to National Prosperity, but not dependent upon National Establishments.

“Are we to have no national recognition of the Supreme Ruler or of man’s higher nature? Shall we, by the abolition of our national Establishments of religion, avow ourselves a nation of Atheists?” In a tone of astonishment, almost indignant, these and similar questions are asked by many good men. Let them be assured that among the most earnest advocates of dis-endowment there are those who would as much deplore and dread national Atheism as themselves, and that they advocate that measure because it would promote national prosperity by promoting national religion.

Let us explain by attempting a brief answer to the question—What is the relation of true religion to national life? We promptly avow our deep conviction that the measure of true religion, other things being equal, is the measure of national prosperity. “Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.” These pregnant words of the Holy Book give us the essential principle of the whole question.

I. Righteousness must be founded upon true religion—that we take as a first axiom. What is righteousness? It may be said to consist of two parts—right being, and right doing. Men too often look chiefly at the latter; if they can get right doing—so far as the act is concerned—or some approach to it, they are satisfied. Not so the Great Teacher. “Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.” First right being, and then will be sure to come right doing,—the streams from the fountain—but from a soul that is wrong—evil—you can by no manner of expedients get right doing. Something like it—that may appear like it at a distance—an image, but not really animated by living righteousness.

But if we speak of right—right being or right doing—we must have reference to some standard. What standard shall we take? Let it be the true one—that which truly expresses what is right. If you have a false or defective measure you cannot by that ascertain the right; conformity to that would still be conformity to wrong. As a false balance is an abomination to the Lord, so should it be to man.

Is not, then, the Divine standard of right the true one? If you take any human standard you will not have righteousness for two reasons. They are always defective—imperfect measures, imperfect scales. They, moreover, content themselves with right doing—do not demand right being. They look at the outward appearance—not at the heart. Now, as we have seen, righteousness must comprehend right being, without which there is no right doing.

But if this be so, righteousness must involve, rest upon, true religion, for it is recognition of, and aspiration after, conformity to the law of God—the only true standard of right. That cannot be without looking to Him as your Supreme and Righteous Lord, admitting and feeling his claims to your trust, adoration, gratitude, obedience,—that is religion.

Righteousness moreover must rest upon religion, because from no other source can sufficient motive come to secure righteousness even between man and man. The great golden law is this, "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." There will be no true righteousness, nothing that approaches the standard, unless this have sway. But this will not, cannot be, apart from love. Nothing but this in the heart will impel a man thoroughly to do justice to his fellow. If he aims only to fulfil law, he will come short of right. Only love, which seeks to impart blessedness, can do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you; and love can come only from religion. There only is the sufficient motive power: upon no lower grounds than true religion can true righteousness be built.

II. We come now to a second axiom—That righteousness, or true religion, is the measure of national prosperity.

The locality and physical characteristics of a country may have something to do with its prosperity, but the character of the people much more. The place in which you plant a tree will have some effect, but the nature of the tree will principally determine that of the fruit. In no situation will you get grapes from thorns or figs from thistles; and in no morally debased nations, however favourably situated, will you find the truest nobleness, severest integrity, the amplest benevolence, or even the greatest material prosperity.

Righteousness *promotes strength*—unrighteousness destroys it. Strength, vigour, is a prime element of prosperity. As a man's strength is more valuable than a child's, so a nation of strong men—strong in body, mind, will—is worth more, more effective for every good purpose than a nation of feeble men. But unrighteousness diminishes strength. It is a violation of law, and to a large extent a violation of the laws of health. If you compare a commu-

nity of vicious people with a community of persons whose lives are marked by purity, sobriety, and integrity, the evidence of facts will be found to concur with the testimony of science in showing that in the latter case sickness will be much less and life much longer than in the former.

Unrighteousness has the same effect upon mind and will—brings weakness. We may not be able to trace the action of causes so clearly, nor point to evidence so obvious here, but it is none the less sure that indulgence in wrong weakens the mental and moral powers. An ungodly man has not in these respects the vigour of the man in whose soul righteousness reigns. Nations as they have become morally debased, have become mentally and morally weak.

Skill is an element of national prosperity; righteousness is favourable, unrighteousness injurious to it. Skill consists of two parts—clearness of vision and aptness of expression; seeing clearly and doing easily and well the right thing; the perception and the fitting execution of the true, the just, the beautiful. But does not righteousness contribute to clearness of vision? “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.” That is a general principle applicable to the perception of all things true and beautiful. “If thine eye be single, thy whole body is full of light; if thine eye be evil, thy whole body is full of darkness.” The most admirable productions of nations have come from the best and purest periods of their life.

Wealth is an element of national prosperity, which righteousness increases and conserves. Unrighteousness diminishes it—by indolence—by indulgence—by extravagance—by the cost of crime. Think of a manufactory worked by 500 vicious and drunken men, and another worked by 500 righteous men. What would be the difference at the end of the year?

Happiness is an element of national prosperity. Righteousness is joy. “A holy life is a perpetual feast.” Wickedness is misery—gives power to bad passions—brings sorrowful consequences—causes discords in the soul, in the family, in the neighbourhood, in the land.

Confidence is an element of national prosperity; is the foundation of domestic and social peace, and of commercial enterprise; the cement of society as a prosperous commonwealth. But righteousness alone can be the sure resting place of confidence; unrighteousness saps the solid ground—confidence finds its feet sinking in the mire, and takes wing.

Last in place but first in importance, the *blessing of God* is prosperity. “That maketh rich and bringeth no sorrow.” “Blessed is the people whose God is the Lord, and the nation whom he hath

chosen for his own inheritance." Righteousness or true religion is the ground and measure of national prosperity.

III. The religion of a nation does not depend upon and must not be measured by Religious Professions, Religious Observances, or State Institutions.

It is not meant to say that these things are worthless, or that they are to be altogether disregarded, but only that they are not identical with religion, and supply very imperfect means of judging of its power among a people. Observances and life are very different things. Loud professions of virtue and religion may be made by the man who is destitute of both, and who becomes the more demonstrative on that very account, in the hope of concealing the corruption within. In the same manner a nation may by public measures make great professions; may have admirable institutions, multitudes of churches, colleges, and officials of many kinds; may observe impressive services; perform no end of *Te Deums*; and yet possess little religious life. Like an army with brilliant uniforms and little discipline or valour—a band with much noise but little music—a university with plenty of professors and books, but little learning—a nation may have State professions, ceremonies, and institutions, with very little religion, and even be more attentive to the forms precisely because it has so little of the substance. "Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that are corrupters: they have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the holy one of Israel unto anger, they are gone away backward." And yet how religious they were! "Hear the word of the Lord ye rulers of Sodom, and give ear to the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah. To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts, and I delight not in the blood of bullocks or of lambs, or of he goats. When ye come before me, who hath required this at your hand to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth; they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them; and when ye spread forth your hands I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood." If, moreover, you look to the state of things prior to the Reformation, the pictures of those times present to our view ample religious professions, splendid national edifices,—institutions with rich endowments and imposing ceremonials, especially upon State occasions; and, withal, a mournful condition of moral corruption;—Hypocrisy, Intemperance, and Impurity in

close attendance upon religious ceremonies and Church processions. And if you listen to the statements of many persons, the condition of things is much the same to day in some parts of Italy, Spain, and Portugal. It is plain that there may be State professions, State institutions, and State observances in large abundance with very little religion. With all these you may have an irreligious, even an atheistic nation.

But where then is the place and what the strength of religion in a community? The answer is a brief one :—There is just as much religion in a nation as in the hearts and lives of the people. Real religion is not in word but in deed, for the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink—not external observance—but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. As much as there is of these, so much is there of true religion. How can there be more? You may indeed appropriately express this in various ways—in services, gifts, and institutions ; still it is the fact, always true, that you have as much religion in the nation as you have in the hearts of the people. Books, parchments, buildings, observances, may all be valuable, may all be made most useful, but they are not religion ; though, unfortunately, many people act as though they were, and when they speak of religion refer chiefly to such things as these.

And this furnishes opportunity for an observation on what has sometimes been spoken of as the national conscience. Is there any such thing as a national conscience? If so, Whence is it? Where is it? How does it express itself? You cannot speak of the conscience of any one person as the conscience of the nation. The conscience of the Sovereign, for instance, cannot be that of the community. It may be much more enlightened than the conscience of the majority. It may be much less so. It may be a very bigoted and ill-informed conscience, like that of George III., or a very loose one, like that of George IV. And there may be a mournful and sudden change in the reigning conscience, as a wise and good sovereign may be removed and give place to one of a very different character. The phrase National Conscience can only be an imperfect mode of expressing an abstract idea. We personify the nation, ascribe to it the attributes of an individual, and then speak of the National Intelligence, the National Wealth, the National Conscience ; but this, if we understand what we are talking about, can mean only the intelligence, the wealth, the consciences of the people composing the community : there is no conscience but the consciences of the people, and there is no one exact measure or expression of these.

But the religiousness of a nation may have abundant power and free expression, either independently of or altogether without a

State Church. The State may give exclusive support to some one form of doctrine and worship, partial support to many, or support to none, and, in either case, there may be a true, vigorous, national religion. Political parties may concur in saying,—“There are differences among good and upright men. Religion does not depend upon political arrangements—for it must show its vitality by contest, progress, and conquest, before politicians ever think of betrothing it to the State,—and the affairs of the Church should not be subject to the changes and chances of political parties; we will not therefore support or try to rule any particular Church, we will, in all our relations, public and private, political and religious, avow our own convictions, and endeavour everywhere to act out the great principles of truth and righteousness; but we will not place any one denomination in a position of special favour and distinction.” In that case the religiousness of the country would remain just what it was, wielding just as much power in the hearts and lives of the people, and possibly manifesting itself with more freedom and vigour than through the medium of a State Establishment. This really national religion might express itself in reverence for Divine authority; in discouraging common vices; in attendance upon worship; in love to our neighbour; in the generous support of religious and benevolent activities; in the character of men chosen for Parliament and public offices; in the spirit in which elections are conducted; in the recognition of the authority and blessing of the Most High in public documents and speeches; in the character of the laws; and in the administration of justice. As a nobleman’s family may be religious without having a paid chaplain in the house; as a large commercial establishment may be pervaded by the spirit of righteousness without having a chapel on the premises; as there may be, without State organizations to maintain and manifest them, national industry and wealth—national literature—national wit—national music—and national taste; so there may be a true and vigorous national religion without a State Church. If not, if a people without a State Church must be indifferent or infidel, what shall we say of the people of Canada, and of other colonies, where there is no such thing—what of the people of the United States, where, as we have seen, notwithstanding the increase of a thousand per day by immigration alone, the population are more amply provided with means of public worship than in most of our large towns, and the increase in the members of churches has far outstripped the wonderful growth of the people? Shall we say that though they thus support churches, ministers, colleges, Bible and Missionary Societies; though they have days of national thanksgiving and humiliation; though they recognise the authority and blessing of God

in public documents ; though they open their legislative sittings and even their parochial meetings with prayer ; yet, because they support no one denomination as a State Church, they are chargeable with national atheism ? We must do so unless we admit that NATIONAL RELIGION IS ESSENTIAL TO NATIONAL PROSPERITY BUT NOT DEPENDENT UPON NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

If our propositions have been made good then the dis-establishment of the Irish Church is the direct way to the prosperity of Ireland and the progress of Protestantism. The fears of some good men upon the latter point are very great. Is it not true, they ask, that as Rome aims at supremacy, this will open the way for the prosecution of her schemes ? No, it will put insuperable obstacles in her way ; it will take from her the plea of injustice, which is the most effective weapon in her armoury ; it will, by adopting the principle of no State Church as the basis of Irish policy, render it impossible for her ever to occupy the place and command the powers of a Civil Establishment, will keep her bishops out of Parliament and her hands from touching the public funds or wielding the civil sword ; it will place Protestantism in a position of freedom, energy, and independence, such as it has never known in Ireland ; it will, by showing Irishmen that you are determined to treat them justly and kindly, open their hearts to you and to your religion. The sullen sense of degradation, which now too readily breaks out in conspiracy and crime, will give place to the conscious dignity of citizens who, respected by others, respect themselves ; a feeling of oneness with England—of brotherhood—will gradually arise ; suspicion will die out, confidence spring up ; military establishments will be diminished ; life will become safe and investments secure ; the land question will be fairly met and settled ; the soil will be well cultivated and trade will flourish ;—thus shall the friends of Ireland, after generations of discord and misery, behold the bonds of peace and the pledges of prosperity.

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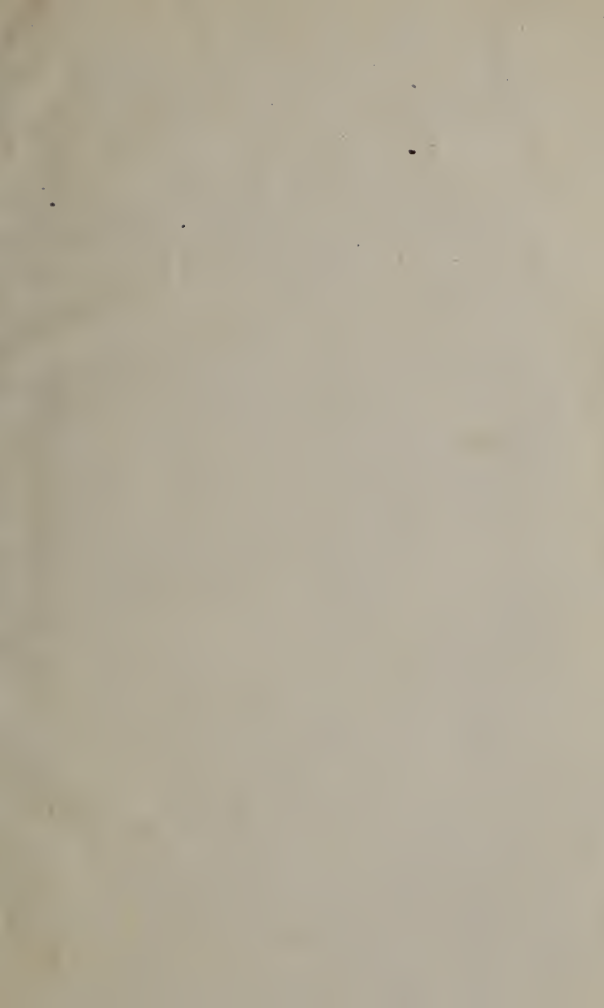
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or speakers who deny (elaborated upon) then his first proposition (may be all very well; but we can only say that such writers have not come in our way. With all respect for our author, we think the real question to be settled is, not whether the Legislature has the right to confiscate the revenues of the Irish branch of the Established Church, but whether it can do so without loosening the tenure of every other kind of property; whether it can do so without violating the most cherished and established principles of the Constitution; whether such an act of arbitrary power be anything short of a first step in the career of revolution, spoliation, and anarchy?

Mr. Dyer's second proposition will be read with astonishment not unmingled with alarm. It is in these words: "That if the dis-establishment of the Irish Church would be for the welfare of Ireland, there is nothing in the Coronation Oath, or in the compact of the union of 1800, that can fairly stand in the way." In commenting upon the Coronation Oath, Mr. Dyer says this oath binds the Queen "only in her executive capacity." Her "EXECUTIVE CAPACITY!" Then has the Queen two consciences, fitted to two capacities—the one executive, the other personal? the one for the Queen, the other for God? We plain people are accustomed to consider the Coronation Oath as an oath—an appeal to the Supreme Being, as witness of the promise; and that a departure from the promise would be a violation of the oath. This distinction of an executive and personal conscience, what can it be but a device to escape from the oath altogether? The psychology of this distinction is nonsense, the theology of it is atheism, and its morals are execrable. We might be prepared to meet with such a distinction in the casuistry of the Jesuits, or in the reasonings of unscrupulous statesmen, grasping spasmodically at office or resolute to retain it; but that it should be found on the pages emanating from the pen of a Christian minister—and that minister in the ranks of Nonconformity—is sad, very sad! We earnestly, we had almost said tenderly, entreat that, should the book reach a second edition, this most offensive passage may be expunged. We shall not follow our author through his historical survey of the Irish Church before and after the Reformation, nor analyse the arguments he founds upon it. He thinks the inefficiency and corruptions of the Church are traceable to its connection with the State; but considering the doctrines, maxims, and past history of the Roman hierarchy, and the *semper eadem* which it has adopted, and unhappily too well sustained, our conviction is, that had there been no connection with the State, there would have been in Ireland no Protestant Church at all. And we honestly avow our apprehensions that when that connection shall have ceased, the very existence of Protestantism in Ireland must soon terminate. The sixth proposition is in these words, "That the history of other churches justifies the expectation that dis-established Protestantism would be aggressive and flourishing." Elaborating this proposition, Mr. Dyer takes occasion to produce tabular evidence of the increase of the Dissenting denominations, and we are not surprised at the gratulatory manner in which this is done—indeed,

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